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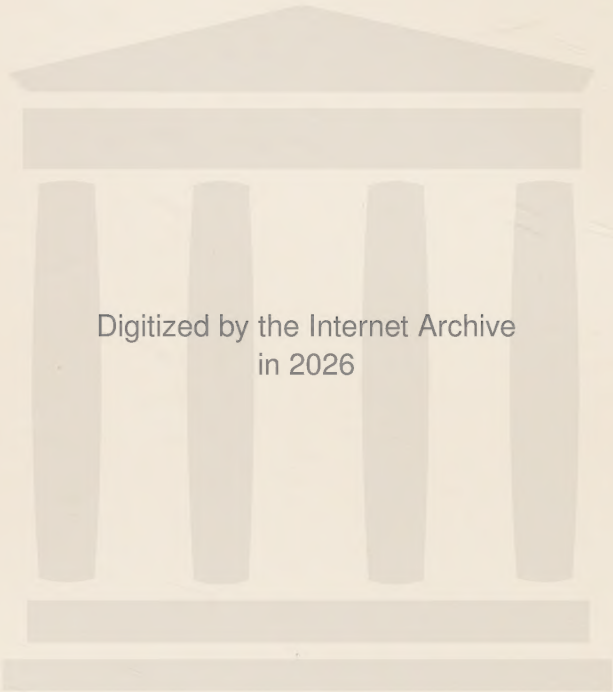

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THE

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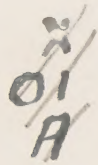

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BY

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PREFACE.

IN my work on 'Prehistoric Times' I have devoted several chapters to the description of modern savages, because the weapons and implements now used by the lower races of men throw much light on the signification and use of those discovered in ancient tumuli, or in the drift gravels; and because a knowledge of modern savages and their modes of life enables us more accurately to picture, and more vividly to conceive the manners and customs of our ancestors in bygone ages.

In the present volume, which is founded on a course of lectures delivered at the Royal Institution in the spring of 1868, I propose more particularly to describe the social and mental condition of savages, their art, their systems of marriage and of relationship, their religions, language, moral character, and laws. Subsequently I shall hope to publish those portions of my lectures which have reference to their houses, dress, boats, arms, implements, &c. From the very nature of the subjects dealt with in the present volume, I shall have to record many actions and ideas very abhorrent to

us; so many, in fact, that if I pass them without comment or condemnation, it is because I am reluctant to fatigue the reader by a wearisome iteration of disapproval. In the chapters on Marriage and Religion more especially, though I have endeavoured to avoid everything that was needlessly offensive, still it was impossible not to mention some facts which are very repugnant to our feelings. Yet were I to express my sentiments in some cases, silence in others might be held to imply indifference, if not approval.

Montesquieu[1] commences with an apology that portion of his great work which is devoted to Religion. As he says, 'on peut juger parmi les ténèbres celles qui sont les moins épaisses, et parmi les abîmes ceux qui sont les moins profonds, ainsi l'on peut chercher entre les religions fausses celles qui sont les plus conformes au bien de la société; celles qui, quoiqu'elles n'aient pas l'effet de mener les hommes aux félicités de l'autre vie, peuvent le plus contribuer à leur bonheur dans celle-ci. Je n'examinerai donc les diverses religions du monde que par rapport au bien que l'on en tire dans l'état civil, soit que je parle de celle qui a sa racine dans le ciel, ou bien de celles qui ont la leur sur la terre.' The difficulty which I have felt has taken a different form, but I deem it necessary to say these few words of explanation, lest I should be supposed to approve that which I do not expressly condemn.

[1] Esprit des Lois, liv. xxiv. ch. 1.

Klemm, in his 'Allgemeine Culturgeschichte der Menschen,' and recently Mr. Wood, in a more popular manner ('Natural History of Man'), have described the various races of man consecutively ; a system which has its advantages, but which does not well bring out the general stages of progress in civilisation.

Various other works, amongst which I must specially mention Müller's 'Geschichte der Americanischen Urreligionen,' M'Lennan's 'Primitive Marriage,' and Bachofen's 'Das Mutterrecht,' deal with particular portions of the subject. Maine's interesting work on 'Ancient Law,' again, considers man in a more advanced stage than that which is the special subject of my work.

The plan pursued by Tylor in his remarkable work on the 'Early History of Mankind' more nearly resembles that which I have sketched out for myself, but the subject is one which no two minds would view in the same manner, and is so vast that I am sure my friend will not regard me as intruding upon a field which he has done so much to make his own.

Nor must I omit to mention Lord Kames' 'History of Man,' and Montesquieu's 'Esprit des Lois,' both of them works of great interest, although written at a time when our knowledge of savage races was even more imperfect than it is now.

Yet the materials for such a work as the present are immense, and are daily increasing. Those who take

an interest in the subject become every year more and more numerous; and while none of my readers can be more sensible of my deficiencies than I am myself, yet, after ten years of study, I have been anxious to publish this portion of my work, in the hope that it may contribute something towards the progress of a science which is in itself of the deepest interest, and which has a peculiar importance to an empire such as ours, comprising races in every stage of civilisation yet attained by man.

High Elms, Down, Kent:
February, 1870.

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THE ORIGIN OF CIVILISATION

&c.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE study of the lower races of men, apart from the direct importance which it possesses in an empire like ours, is of great interest from three points of view. In the first place, the condition and habits of existing savages resemble in many ways, though not in all, those of our own ancestors in a period now long gone by :[1] in the second, they illustrate much of what is passing among ourselves—many customs which have evidently no relation to present circumstances ; and some ideas which are rooted in our minds, as fossils are imbedded in the soil : while, thirdly, we can even, by means of them, penetrate some of that mist which separates the present from the future.

In fact, the lower races of men in various parts of the world present us with illustrations of a social condition

[1] I am very glad to find that so able and cautious a critic as Mr. Bagehot has expressed his assent to the line of argument here used, and the general conclusions at which I have arrived. See his Physics and Politics, 1872, especially the excellent chapter on 'Nation-making.'

ruder, and more archaic, than any which history records as having ever existed among the more advanced races. Even among civilised peoples, however, we find traces of former barbarism. Not only is language in this respect extremely instructive ; but laws and customs are often of very ancient origin, and contain symbols which are the relics of former realities. Thus the use of stone knives in certain Egyptian ceremonies points to a time when that people habitually used stone implements. Again, the form of marriage by purchase (coemptio) among the Romans indicates a period in their history when they habitually bought wives, as so many savage tribes do now. So also the form of capture in weddings can only be explained by the hypothesis that the capture of wives was once a stern reality. In such cases as these the sequence is obvious. The use of stone knives in certain ceremonies is evidently a case of survival, not of invention ; and in the same way the form of capture in weddings would naturally survive the actual reality, while we cannot suppose that the reality would rise out of the symbol.

It must not be assumed, however, that the condition of primitive man is correctly represented by even the lowest of existing races. The very fact that the latter have remained stationary, that their manners, habits, and mode of life have continued almost unaltered for generations, has created a strict, and often complicated, system of customs, from which the former was necessarily free, but which has in some cases gradually acquired even more than the force of law. In order, then, to arrive at a clear idea of this primitive condition of the human race, we must eliminate these

customs from our conception of that condition; and this we are best enabled to do by a comparison of savage tribes belonging to different families of the human race.

Although the differences of race, of geographical position, and of their general surroundings, have necessarily led to considerable divergencies in the social and mental development of different tribes, still I have endeavoured to show that, in the main, the development of higher and better ideas as to Marriage, Relationships, Law, Religion, &c., has followed in its earlier stages a very similar course even in the most distinct races of man; and when we find customs and ideas which to us seem absurd or illogical, reappearing in separate families of mankind at the same stage of development, we may safely conclude that, however absurd they may appear to us, they rest on some ground which once appeared sufficient, and are no unmeaning or insignificant accidents.

It has been said by some writers that savages are merely the degenerate descendants of more civilised ancestors, and I am far from denying that there are cases of retrogression. But, in the first place, a tribe which had sunk from civilisation into barbarism would by no means exhibit the same features as one which had risen into barbarism from savagery. And, what is even more important, races which fall back in civilisation diminish in numbers. The whole history of man shows how the stronger and progressive increase in numbers, and drive out the weaker and lower races. I have endeavoured, for instance, to show that the ideas on the subject of relationships which are prevalent among the less

advanced races, would naturally arise in the course of progress, but are inconsistent with the theory of degradation. So, again, a people who trusted in luck would have no chance in the struggle for existence against one which believed in law : if we find a belief in fetichism interwoven with the religion of even the highest races, it is because these races were Fetichists before they became Buddhist, Mahometan, or Christian. A tribe in which the feeling of relationship was weak and ill-defined would be at a great disadvantage as compared with one in which the family feeling was strong. Hence, although we are very far as yet from having arrived at such a result, I believe it will be possible for us to realise to ourselves a condition through which our ancestors must have passed in pre-historic times—one more primitive than any of which we have at present an actual example.

At any rate, it cannot be doubted that the careful study of manners and customs, traditions and superstitions, will eventually solve many difficult problems of Ethnology. This mode of research, however, requires to be used with great caution, and has in fact led to many erroneous conclusions. For instance, in more than one case, savage races have been regarded as descendants of the Ten Tribes, because their customs offered some singular points of resemblance with those recorded in the Pentateuch. In these cases, a wider acquaintance with the manners and customs of savage races would have shown that these coincidences, so far from being, as supposed, peculiar to these tribes, were, in fact, common to several, if not to most, of the principal races of mankind. Much careful study will, there-

fore, be required before this class of evidence can be used with safety, though I doubt not that eventually it will be found most instructive.

The study of savage life is, moreover, as I have already observed, of peculiar importance to us, forming, as we do, part of a great empire, with colonies in every part of the world, and fellow-citizens in many stages of civilisation. Of this our Indian possessions afford us a good illustration. 'We have studied the lowland popu-'lation,' says Mr. Hunter,[1] 'as no conquerors ever studied 'or understood a subject race. Their history, their habits, 'their requirements, their very weaknesses and preju-'dices are known, and furnish a basis for those political 'inductions which, under the titles of administrative 'foresight and timely reform, meet popular movements 'half-way. The East India Company grudged neither 'honours nor solid rewards to any meritorious effort to 'illustrate the peoples whom it ruled.' . . .

'The practical result now appears. English ad-'ministrators understand the Aryan, and are almost 'totally ignorant of the non-Aryan, population of 'India. They know with remarkable precision how 'a measure will be received by the higher or purely 'Aryan ranks of the community; they can foresee 'with less certainty its effect upon the lower or semi-'Aryan classes, but they neither know nor venture to 'predict the results of any line of action among the 'non-Aryan tribes. Political calculations are impos-'sible without a knowledge of the people. But the evil 'does not stop here. In the void left by ignorance, 'prejudice has taken up its seat, and the calamity of

[1] Non-Aryan Languages of India, p. 2.

'the non-Aryan races is not merely that they are not 'understood, but that they are misrepresented.'

Well, therefore, has it been observed by Sir Henry Maine, in his excellent work on 'Ancient Law,' that, 'even if they gave more trouble than they do, no pains 'would be wasted in ascertaining the germs out of 'which has assuredly been unfolded every form of 'moral restraint which controls our actions and shapes 'our conduct at the present moment. . . . As societies 'do not advance concurrently, but at different rates of 'progress, there have been epochs at which men trained 'to habits of methodical observation have really been 'in a position to watch and describe the infancy of 'mankind.'[1] He refers particularly to Tacitus, whom he praises for having 'made the most of such an oppor-'tunity;' adding, however, 'but the "Germany," unlike 'most celebrated classical books, has not induced others 'to follow the excellent example set by its author, and 'the amount of this sort of testimony which we possess 'is exceedingly small.'

This is, however, I think, far from being really the case. At all epochs some 'men trained to habits of 'methodical observation have really been in a position to watch and describe the infancy of mankind,' and the testimony of our modern travellers is in many cases of the same nature as that for which we are indebted to Tacitus.

It must, however, be admitted that our information with reference to the social and moral condition of the lower races of man is certainly very far from being satisfactory, either in extent or in accuracy. Travellers

[1] Maine's Ancient Law, p. 120.

naturally find it far easier to describe the houses, boats, food, dress, weapons, and implements of savages, than to understand their thoughts and feelings. The whole mental condition of a savage is so different from ours, that it is often very difficult to follow what is passing in his mind, or to understand the motives by which he is influenced. Many things appear natural and almost self-evident to him, which produce a very different impression on us. 'What!' said a negro to Burton, 'am 'I to starve, while my sister has children whom she can 'sell?'

When the natives of the Lower Murray first saw pack oxen, some of them were frightened and took them for demons 'with spears on their heads,' while others thought they were the wives of the settlers, because they carried the baggage.[1]

Moreover, though savages always have a reason, such as it is, for what they do and what they believe, their reasons often are very absurd. The difficulty of ascertaining what is passing in their minds is of course much enhanced by the difficulty of communicating with them. This has produced many laughable mistakes. Thus, when Labillardière enquired of the Friendly Islanders the word for 1,000,000, they seem to have thought the question absurd, and answered him by a word which apparently has no meaning; when he asked for 10,000,000, they said 'laoalai,' which I will leave unexplained; for 100,000,000, 'laounoua,' that is to say, 'nonsense;' while for the higher numbers they gave him certain coarse expressions, which he has gravely published in his table of numerals.

[1] Taplin, The Narinyeri, p. 53.

A mistake made by Dampier led to more serious results. He had met some Australians, and apprehending an attack, he says :—'I discharged my gun to 'scare them, but avoided shooting any of them; till, 'finding the young man in great danger from them, 'and myself in some, and that though the gun had a little 'frightened them at first, yet *they had soon learnt to despise* '*it*, tossing up their hands, and crying "Pooh, pooh, '"pooh!" and coming on afresh with a great noise, I 'thought it high time to charge again, and shoot one of 'them, which I did . . . and returned back with my men, 'designing to attempt the natives no farther, being very 'sorry for what had happened already.'[1] 'Pooh, 'pooh,' however, or 'puff, puff,' is the name which savages, like children, naturally apply to guns.

Another source of error is, that savages are often reluctant to contradict what is said to them. Livingstone calls special attention to this as a characteristic of the natives of Africa.[2] Mr. Oldfield,[3] again, speaking of the Australians, tells us :—'I have found 'this habit of non-contradiction to stand very much 'in my way when making enquiries of them, for, as 'my knowledge of their language was only sufficient 'to enable me to seek information on some points 'by putting suggestive questions, in which they im-'mediately concurred, I was frequently driven nearly 'to my wits' end to arrive at the truth. A native once 'brought me in some specimens of a species of euca-'lyptus, and being desirous of ascertaining the habit of 'the plant, I asked, "A tall tree?" to which his ready

[1] Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xi. p. 473. [2] Expedition to the Zambesi, p. 309.
[3] Trans. Ethn. Soc. N.S. vol. iii. p. 255.

'answer was in the affirmative. Not feeling quite 'satisfied, I again demanded, "A low bush?" to which '"Yes," was also the response.'

Again, the mind of the savage, like that of the child, is easily fatigued, and he will then give random answers, to spare himself the trouble of thought. Speaking of the Ahts (N.W. America), Mr. Sproat[1] says:—'The 'native mind, to an educated man, seems generally to 'be asleep; and if you suddenly ask a novel question, 'you have to repeat it while the mind of the savage is 'awaking, and to speak with emphasis until he has quite 'got your meaning. . . . A short conversation wearies 'him, particularly if questions are asked that require 'efforts of thought or memory on his part. The mind 'of the savage then appears to rock to and fro out of 'mere weakness, and he tells lies and talks nonsense.'

'I frequently enquired of the negroes,' says Park, 'what became of the sun during the night, and whether 'we should see the same sun or a different one, in the 'morning; but I found that they considered the ques-'tion as very childish. The subject appeared to them 'as placed beyond the reach of human investigation; 'they had never indulged a conjecture, nor formed any 'hypothesis, about the matter.'[2]

Such ideas are, in fact, entirely beyond the mental range of the lower savages, whose extreme mental inferiority we have much difficulty in realising.

Speaking of the wild men in the interior of Borneo, Mr. Dalton[3] says that they are found living 'absolutely

[1] Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 120.

[2] Park's Travels, vol. i. p. 265.

[3] Moor's Notices of the Indian Archipelago, p. 49. See also Keppel's Expedition to Borneo, vol. ii. p. 10.

'in a state of nature, who neither cultivate the ground 'nor live in huts; who neither eat rice nor salt, and who 'do not associate with each other, but rove about some 'woods, like wild beasts; the sexes meet in the jungle, 'or the man carries away a woman from some campong. 'When the children are old enough to shift for them-'selves, they usually separate, neither one afterwards 'thinking of the other. At night they sleep under some 'large tree, the branches of which hang low; on 'these they fasten the children in a kind of swing; 'around the tree they make a fire to keep off the wild 'beasts and snakes. They cover themselves with a piece 'of bark, and in this also they wrap their children; it 'is soft and warm, but will not keep out the rain. The 'poor creatures are looked on and treated by the other 'Dyaks as wild beasts.'

Lichtenstein describes a Bushman as presenting 'the true physiognomy of the small blue ape of Caf-'fraria. What gives the more verity to such a com-'parison was the vivacity of his eyes, and the flexibility 'of his eye-brows. . . . Even his nostrils and the 'corners of his mouth, nay his very ears, moved in-'voluntarily. . . . There was not, on the contrary, a 'single feature in his countenance that evinced a con-'sciousness of mental powers.'[1]

Under these circumstances it cannot be wondered at that we have most contradictory accounts as to the character and mental condition of savages. Nevertheless, by comparing together the accounts of different travellers, we can to a great extent avoid these sources of

[1] Lichtenstein, vol. ii. p. 224.

error ; and we are very much aided in this by the remarkable similarity between different races. So striking, indeed, is this, that different races in similar stages of development often present more features of resemblance to one another than the same race does to itself in different stages of its history.

Some ideas, which seem to us at first inexplicable and fantastic, are yet very widely distributed. Thus among many races a woman is absolutely forbidden to speak to her son-in-law. Franklin[1] tells us that among the American Indians of the far North 'it is considered 'extremely improper for a mother-in-law to speak or 'even look at him ; and when she has a communication 'to make to him it is the etiquette that she should turn 'her back upon him, and address him only through the 'medium of a third person.'

Further south, among the Omahaws, 'neither the 'father-in-law nor mother-in-law will hold any direct 'communication with their son-in-law.'[2] Harmon says that among the Indians east of the Rocky Mountains the same rule prevails. Baegert[3] mentions that among the Indians of California 'the son-in-law was not 'allowed, for some time, to look into the face of his 'mother-in-law, or his wife's nearest relations, but had 'to step on one side, or to hide himself when these 'women were present.'

Lafitau,[4] indeed, makes the same statements as regards the North American Indians generally. We find

[1] Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, vol. i. p. 137.

[2] James's Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, vol. i. p. 232.

[3] Account of California, 1773. Translated by C. Rau, in Smithsonian Rep. for 1863–4, p. 368.

[4] Mœurs des Sauvages Américains, vol. i. p. 576.

it among the Crees and Dacotahs, and again in Florida. Rochefort mentions it among the Caribs, and in South America it recurs among the Arawaks.

In Asia, among the Mongols and Kalmucks, a woman must not speak to her father-in-law nor sit down in his presence. Among the Ostiaks of Siberia,[1] 'une fille 'mariée évite autant qu'il lui est possible la présence du 'père de son mari, tant qu'elle n'a pas d'enfant ; et le 'mari, pendant ce temps, n'ose pas paroître devant la 'mère de sa femme. S'ils se rencontrent par hasard, le 'mari lui tourne le dos, et la femme se couvre le visage. 'On ne donne point de nom aux filles ostiakes ; lors-'qu'elles sont mariées, les hommes les nomment *Imi*, 'femmes. Les femmes, par respect pour leurs maris, 'ne les appellent pas par leur nom ; elles se servent du 'mot de *Tahé*, hommes.'

In China, according to Duhalde, the father-in-law, after the wedding day, 'never sees the face of his 'daughter-in-law again ; he never visits her,' and if they chance to meet he hides himself.[2] A similar custom prevails in Borneo and in the Fiji Islands. In Australia, also, Eyre states that a man must not pronounce the name of his father in-law, his mother-in-law, or his son-in-law.

Dubois mentions that in certain districts of Hindostan a woman 'is not permitted to speak to her mother-'in-law. When any task is prescribed to her, she shows 'her acquiescence only by signs ;' a contrivance, he

[1] Pallas, vol. iv. pp. 71, 577. He makes the same statement with reference to the Samoyedes, *loc. cit.* p. 99. See also Müller, Description de toutes les Nations de l'Empire de Russie, pt. i. pp. 191–203; pt. ii. p. 104.

[2] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 91.

sarcastically adds, 'well adapted for securing domestic 'tranquillity.'[1]

In Central Africa, Caillié[2] observes that, 'from this 'moment the lover is not to see the father and mother 'of his future bride: he takes the greatest care to avoid 'them, and if by chance they perceive him they cover 'their faces, as if all ties of friendship were broken. I 'tried in vain to discover the origin of this whimsical 'custom; the only answer I could obtain was, "It's our '"way." The custom extends beyond the relations: if 'the lover is of a different camp, he avoids all the in-'habitants of the lady's camp, except a few intimate 'friends whom he is permitted to visit. A little tent is 'generally set up for him, under which he remains all 'day, and if he is obliged to come out, or to cross the 'camp, he covers his face. He is not allowed to see his 'intended during the day, but, when everybody is at 'rest, he creeps into her tent and remains with her till 'daybreak.' Among the Kaffirs[3] a married woman 'is 'required to "hlonipa" her father-in-law and all her 'husband's male relations in the ascending line—that 'is, to be cut off from all intercourse with them. She 'is not allowed to pronounce their names, even men-'tally; and whenever the emphatic syllable of either of 'their names occurs in any other word, she must avoid 'it, by either substituting an entirely new word, or at 'least another syllable, in its place. The son-in-law is 'placed under certain restrictions towards his mother-'in-law. He cannot enjoy her society or remain in the

[1] On the People of India, p. 235.

[2] Caillié's Travels to Timbuctoo, vol. i. p. 94.

[3] Kaffir Laws and Customs, pp. 95, 96.

'same hut with her; nor can he pronounce her name.' Among the Bushmen in the far South, Chapman recounts exactly the same thing, yet none of these observers had any idea how general the custom is.

In Australia, among the aborigines of Victoria, 'it 'is compulsory on the mothers-in-law to avoid the sight 'of their sons-in-law, by making the mothers-in-law 'take a very circuitous route on all occasions to avoid 'being seen, and they hide the face and figure with the 'rug which the female carries about her.'[1] So strict is the rule, that if married men are jealous of any one, they sometimes promise to give him a daughter in marriage. This places the wife, according to custom, in the position of a mother-in-law, and renders any communication between her and her future son-in-law a capital crime.

More or less similar customs occur among the Dyaks, and other races, and cannot possibly be without a cause.

Mr. Tylor, who has some very interesting remarks on these customs in his 'Early History of Man,' observes that 'it is hard even to guess what state of things 'could have brought them into existence,' nor, so far as I am aware, has any one else attempted to explain them. In the Chapter on Marriage I shall, however, point out the manner in which I conceive that they have arisen.

Another curious custom is that known in Béarn under the name of La Couvade. Probably every Englishman who had not studied other races would assume, as a matter of course, that on the birth of a child the

[1] Report of Select Committee on Aborigines, Victoria, 1859, p. 73.

mother would everywhere be put to bed and nursed. But this is not the case. In many races the father, and not the mother, is doctored when a baby is born.

Yet though this custom seems so ludicrous to us, it is very widely distributed. Commencing with South America, Dobritzhoffer tells us that 'no sooner do you 'hear that a woman has borne a child, than you see the 'husband lying in bed huddled up with mats and skins, 'lest some ruder breath of air should touch him, fasting, 'kept in private, and for a number of days abstaining 'religiously from certain viands: you would swear it 'was he who had had the child. . . . I had read about 'this in old times, and laughed at it, never thinking I 'could believe such madness, and I used to suspect 'that this barbarian custom was related more in jest 'than in earnest; but at last I saw it with my own 'eyes among the Abipones.'

In Brazil, among the Coroados, Martius tells us that 'as soon as the woman is evidently pregnant, or has 'been delivered, the man withdraws. A strict regimen 'is observed before the birth; the man and the woman 'refrain for a time from the flesh of certain animals, and 'live chiefly on fish and fruits.'[1]

Further north, in Guiana, Mr. Brett[2] observes that 'some of the men of the Acawoio and Caribi nations, 'when they have reason to expect an increase of their 'families, consider themselves bound to abstain from 'certain kinds of meat, lest the expected child should, 'in some very mysterious way, be injured by their par- 'taking of it. The *Acouri* (or Agouti) is thus tabooed,

[1] Spix's and Martius's Travels in Brazil, vol. ii. p. 247.

[2] Brett's Indian Tribes of Guiana, p. 355.

'lest, like that little animal, the child should be meagre; 'the *Haimara*, also, lest it should be blind—the outer 'coating of the eye of that fish suggesting film or 'cataract; the *Labba*, lest the infant's mouth should 'protrude like the labba's or lest it be spotted like the 'labba, which spots would ultimately become ulcers.' And again:—'On the birth of a child, the ancient 'Indian etiquette requires the father to take to his ham-'mock, where he remains some days as if he were sick, 'and receives the congratulations and condolence of his 'friends. An instance of this custom came under my 'own observation, where the man, in robust health and 'excellent condition, without a single bodily ailment, 'was lying in his hammock in the most provoking 'manner, and carefully and respectfully attended by 'the women, while the mother of the new-born infant 'was cooking—none apparently regarding her!'[1]

Similar statements have been made by various other travellers, including De Tertre, Giliz, Biet, Fermin, and in fact almost all who have written on the natives of South America.

In North America, Bancroft mentions the existence of a similar custom among the natives of California and New Mexico. Rémy states that among the Shoshonès, when a woman is in labour, the husband also is bound 'to remain in seclusion, away from every one, even from 'his wife.'[2] In Greenland, after a woman is confined, the 'husband must forbear working for some weeks, 'neither must they drive any trade during that time;'[3] in Kamskatka, for some time before the birth of a baby,

[1] Brett, *loc. cit.* p. 101.

[2] Journey to the Great Salt Lake City, p. 126.

[3] Egede's Greenland, p. 196.

the husband must do no hard work. In South India, Mr. Tylor[1] quotes Mr. F. W. Jennings as stating that among natives of the higher castes about Madras, Seringapatam, and on the Malabar Coast, 'a man, at the 'birth of his first son or daughter by the chief wife, or 'for any son afterwards, will retire to bed for a lunar 'month, living principally on a rice diet, abstaining 'from exciting food and from smoking.' In Fiji, also, when a child is born, the father, as well as the mother, is careful to abstain from eating anything which might disagree with the infant.

Similar notions occur among the Chinese of West Yunnan, among the Dyaks of Borneo, in Melanesia, in Madagascar, on the west coast of Africa, among the Kaffirs, in the north of Spain, in Corsica, and in the south of France, where it is called 'faire la couvade.' While, however, I regard this curious custom as of much ethnological interest, I cannot agree with Mr. Tylor in regarding it as evidence that the races by whom it is practised belong to one variety of the human species.[2] On the contrary, I believe that it originated independently in several distinct parts of the world.

It is of course evident that a custom so ancient, and so widely spread, must have its origin in some idea which satisfies the savage mind. Several explanations have been suggested. Professor Max Müller,[3] in his 'Chips from a German Workshop,' says:—'It is clear 'that the poor husband was at first tyrannised over by 'his female relations, and afterwards frightened into

[1] Tylor's Early History of Man, 2nd ed., p. 301.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 296.

[3] Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. p. 281.

'superstition. He then began to make a martyr of 'himself till he made himself really ill, or took to his 'bed in self-defence. Strange and absurd as the cou- 'vade appears at first sight, there is something in it 'with which, we believe, most mothers-in-law can 'sympathise.' Lafitau[1] regards it as arising from a dim recollection of original sin; rejecting the Carib and Abipon explanation, which I have little doubt is the correct one, that they do it because they believe that if the father engaged in any rough work, or was careless in his diet, 'cela feroit mal à l'enfant, et que cet enfant 'participeroit à tous les défauts naturels des animaux 'dont le père auroit mangé.'

This idea—namely, that a person imbibes the characteristics of an animal which he eats—is very widely distributed. In India, Forsyth mentions that Mahouts often give their elephant 'a piece of a tiger's 'liver to make him courageous, and the eyes of the 'brown horned owl to make him see well at night.'[2] The Malays at Singapore also give a large price for the flesh of the tiger, not because they like it, but because they believe that the man who eats tiger 'acquires the 'sagacity as well as the courage of that animal,'[3] an idea which occurs among several of the Indian hill tribes.[4]

'The Dyaks of Borneo have a prejudice against the 'flesh of deer, which the men may not eat, but which is 'allowed to women and children. The reason given 'for this is, that if the warriors eat the flesh of deer

[1] Mœurs des Sauvages Américains, vol. i. p. 259.

[2] Forsyth's Highlands of Central India, p. 452.

[3] Keppel's Visit to the Indian Archipelago, p. 13.

[4] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 33.

'they become as faint-hearted as that animal.'[1] 'In 'ancient times those who wished for children used to 'eat frogs, because that animal lays so many eggs.'[2]

The Caribs will not eat the flesh of pigs or of tortoises, lest their eyes should become as small as those of these animals.[3] The Dacotahs eat the liver of the dog, in order to possess the sagacity and courage of that animal.[4] The Arabs also impute the passionate and revengeful character of their countrymen to the use of camel's flesh.[5] In Siberia the bear is eaten under the idea that its flesh 'gives a zest for the chase, and 'renders them proof against fear.'[6] The Kaffirs also prepare a powder 'made of the dried flesh of various 'wild beasts, intending by the administering of this 'compound to impart to the men the qualities of the 'several animals.'[7]

Tylor[8] mentions that an 'English merchant in 'Shanghai, at the time of the Taeping attack, met his 'Chinese servant carrying home a heart, and asked him 'what he had got there. He said it was the heart of a 'rebel, and that he was going to take it home and eat 'it to make him brave.' The New Zealanders, after baptising an infant, used to make it swallow pebbles, so that its heart might be hard and incapable of pity.[9] Even cannibalism is sometimes due to this idea, and the New Zealanders eat their most formidable enemies partly

[1] Keppel's Expedition to Borneo, vol. i. p. 231.

[2] Inman's Ancient Faiths in Ancient Names, p. 383.

[3] Müller's Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen, p. 221.

[4] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. ii. p. 80.

[5] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 143.

[6] Atkinson's Upper and Lower Amoor, p. 462.

[7] Callaway's Religious System of the Amazulu, pt. iv. p. 438.

[8] Early History of Man, p. 131.

[9] Yate's New Zealand, p. 82.

for this reason. Until quite recent times many medical remedies were selected on this principle. It is from the same kind of idea that 'eyebright,' because the flower somewhat resembles an eye, was supposed to be good for ocular complaints.

To us the idea seems absurd. Not so to children. I have myself heard a little girl say to her brother, 'If 'you eat so much goose you will be quite silly;' and there are perhaps few children to whom the induction would not seem perfectly legitimate.

From the same notion, the Esquimaux, 'to render 'barren women fertile or teeming, take old pieces of the 'soles of our shoes to hang about them; for, as they 'take our nation to be more fertile, and of a stronger 'disposition of body than theirs, they fancy the virtue 'of our body communicates itself to our clothing.'[1]

In fact, savages do not act without reason, any more than we do, though their reasons may often be bad ones and seem to us singularly absurd. Thus they have a great dread of having their portraits taken. The better the likeness, the worse they think for the sitter; so much life could not be put into the copy, except at the expense of the original. Once, when a good deal annoyed by some Indians, Kane got rid of them instantly by threatening to draw them if they remained. Catlin tells an amusing, but melancholy, anecdote in reference to this feeling. On one occasion he was drawing a chief named Mahtocheega, in profile. This, when observed, excited much commotion among the Indians: 'Why was half his face left out?' they asked; 'Mah-'tocheega was never ashamed to look a white man in the

[1] Egede's Greenland, p. 198.

'face.' Mahtocheega himself does not seem to have taken any offence, but Shonka, 'the Dog,' took advantage of the idea to taunt him. 'The Englishman knows,' he said, 'that you are but half a man; he has painted 'but one half of your face, and he knows that the rest 'is good for nothing.' This view of the case led to a fight, in which poor Mahtocheega was shot; and, as ill luck would have it, the bullet by which he was killed tore away just that part of the face which had been omitted in the drawing.

This was very unfortunate for Mr. Catlin, who had great difficulty in making his escape, and lived some months after in fear of his life; nor was the matter settled until both Shonka and his brother had been killed in revenge for the death of Mahtocheega.

Franklin also mentions that the North American Indians 'prize pictures very highly, and esteem any 'they can get, however badly executed, as efficient charms.'[1] The natives of Bornou had a similar horror of being 'written;' they said 'that they did not 'like it; that the Sheik did not like it; that it was a 'sin; and I am quite sure, from the impression, that we 'had much better never have produced the book at all.'[2] The Fetich women in Dahome, says Burton, 'were easily 'dispersed by their likenesses being sketched.'[3] In his Travels in Lapland, Sir A. de C. Brooke says:—'I 'could clearly perceive[4] that many of them imagined 'the magical art to be connected with what I was doing, 'and on this account showed signs of uneasiness, till

[1] Voyage to the Polar Seas, ii. 6.

[2] Denham's Travels in Africa, vol. i. p. 275.

[3] Mission to the King of Dahome, i. 278.

[4] Brooke's Lapland, p. 354.

'reassured by some of the merchants. An instance of 'this happened one morning, when a Laplander knocked 'at the door of my chamber, and entered it, as they 'usually did, without further ceremony. Having come 'from Alten to Hammerfest on some business, curiosity 'had induced him, previously to his return, to pay the 'Englishman a visit. After a dram he seemed quite at 'his ease ; and producing my pencil, I proceeded, as he 'stood, to sketch his portrait. His countenance now 'immediately changed, and taking up his cap, he was on 'the point of making an abrupt exit, without my being 'able to conjecture the cause. As he spoke only his 'own tongue, I was obliged to have recourse to as-'sistance ; when I found that his alarm was occasioned 'by my employment, which he at once comprehended, 'but suspected that, by obtaining a likeness of him, I 'should acquire over him a certain power and influence 'that might be prejudicial. He therefore refused to 'allow it, and expressed a wish, before any other steps 'were taken, to return to Alten, and ask the permission 'of his master.' Mr. Ellis mentions the existence of a similar feeling in Madagascar.[1]

We can hardly wonder that writing should seem to savages even more magical than drawing. Carver, for instance, allowed the North American Indians to open a book as often as and wherever they pleased, and then told them the number of leaves. 'The only way they 'could account,' he says, 'for my knowledge, was by 'concluding that the book was a spirit, and whispered 'me answers to whatever I demanded of it.'[2]

[1] Three Visits to Madagascar, p. 358.

[2] Travels, p. 255.

Father Baegert mentions [1] that 'a certain missionary 'sent a native to one of his colleagues, with some loaves 'of bread and a letter stating their number. The mes- 'senger ate a part of the bread, and the theft was con- 'sequently discovered. Another time when he had to 'deliver four loaves, he ate two of them, but hid the 'accompanying letter under a stone while he was thus 'engaged, believing that his conduct would not be 'revealed this time, as the letter had not seen him in 'the act of eating the loaves.'

Further north, the Minatarrees, seeing Catlin intent over a copy of the 'New York Commercial Advertiser,' were much puzzled, but at length came to the conclusion that it was a medicine-cloth for sore eyes. One of them eventually bought it for a high price.[2]

This use of writing as a medicine prevails largely in Africa, where the priests or wizards write a prayer on a piece of board, wash it off, and make the patient drink it. Caillié [3] met with a man who had a great reputation for sanctity, and who made his living by writing prayers on a board, washing them off, and then selling the water, which was sprinkled over various objects and supposed to improve or protect them.

Mungo Park on one occasion profited by this idea. 'A Bambarran having,' he says, 'heard that I was a 'Christian, immediately thought of procuring a saphie; 'and for this purpose brought out his *walha* or writing- 'board, assuring me that he would dress me a supper 'of rice if I would write him a saphie to protect him 'from wicked men. The proposal was of too great

[1] Smithsonian Report, 1864, p. 379.

[2] American Indians, vol. ii. p. 92.

[3] Travels, vol. i. p. 262.

'consequence to me to be refused ; I therefore wrote the 'board full from top to bottom on both sides ; and my 'landlord, to be certain of having the whole force of 'the charm, washed the writing from the board into a 'calabash with a little water, and, having said a few 'prayers over it, drank this powerful draught ; after 'which, lest a single word should escape, he licked the 'board until it was quite dry.'[1] The same practice occurs in India, where, however, Sir A. Lyall tells me that the native practitioner may sometimes be seen openly mixing croton oil in the ink with which he writes his charm.

Among the Kirghiz, also, Atkinson tells us that the Mullas sell amulets, 'at the rate of a sheep 'for each scrap of paper ;'[2] and similar charms are 'in great request among the Turkomans,'[3] and in Afghanistan.[4]

In Africa, the prayers written as medicine or as amulets are generally taken from the Koran. It is admitted that they are no protection from firearms ; but this does not the least weaken the faith in them, because, as guns were not invented in Mahomet's time, he naturally provided no specific against them.[5]

The science of medicine, indeed, like that of astronomy, and like religion, assumes among savages very much the character of witchcraft.

Ignorant as they are of the processes by which life

[1] Park's Travels, vol. i. p. 357. See also p. 56. Caillié's Travels to Timbuctoo, vol. i. p. 376. Barth, vol. ii. p. 449.

[2] Siberia, p. 310.

[3] Vambéry's Travels in Central Asia, p. 50.

[4] Masson's Travels in Balochistan, Afghanistan, &c., vol. i. pp. 74, 90, 312 ; vol. ii. pp. 127, 302.

[5] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 35.

is maintained, of anatomy and of physiology, the true nature of disease does not occur to them. Thus the negroes universally believe that diseases are caused by evil spirits : [1] among the Kaffirs, 'diseases are all attri- 'buted to three causes—either to being enchanted by an 'enemy, to the anger of certain beings whose abode 'appears to be in the rivers, or to the power of evil 'spirits.' [2] So, again, in Guinea, the native doctors paint their patients different colours in honour of the spirit which is supposed to have caused the disease.[3] In West Australia, for the same reason, it is the duty of the doctor to run round and round his patient, shouting as he goes, to keep away the evil spirit.[4]

Similar theories on the origin and nature of disease occur in various parts of the world, as, for instance, in Siberia, among the Kalmucks, the Kirghiz, and Bashkirs ; [5] in many of the Indian tribes, as the Abors, Kacharis, Kols, &c. ; [6] in Ceylon ; [7] among the Karens ; [8] in the Andamans ; in the Samoan, Harvey, and other Pacific islands ; [9] in Madagascar, among the Caribs,[10] &c. The consequence of this is that cures are effected by ejecting or exorcising the evil spirit. Among the Kalmucks, this is the business of the so-called 'Priests,'

[1] Pritchard's Natural History of Man, vol. ii. p. 704.

[2] Lichtenstein, vol. i. p. 255. Maclean's Kaffir Laws and Customs, p. 88.

[3] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 439. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast, vol. ii. pp. 134, 144.

[4] Forrest, Jour. Anthrop. Inst. vol. iii. p. 319.

[5] Müller's Des. de toutes les Nations de l'Empire de Russie, part i. pp. 123, 169.

[6] Dalton's Des. Ethnology of Bengal, pp. 25, 85.

[7] Saint-Hilaire, Le Boudha et sa Religion, p. 387.

[8] The Karens of the Chersonese, pp. 123, 354.

[9] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 224. Gerland's Cont. of Waitz's Anthrop. vol. vi. p. 682.

[10] Tylor's Primitive Culture, vol. ii. p. 134.

who induce the evil spirit to quit the body of the patient and enter some other object. If a chief is ill, some other person is induced to take his name, and thus, as is supposed, 'the evil spirit passes into his body.'[1] In Rome there was an altar dedicated to the Goddess Fever.[2] Certain forms of disease, indeed, are now, and, as we know, have long been, regarded, even among the more advanced nations of the East, as caused by the presence of evil spirits. 'The Assyrians and Baby-'lonians,' says the Rev. A. H. Sayce, 'like the Jews 'of the Talmud, believed that the world was swarm-'ing with obnoxious spirits who produced the various 'diseases to which man is liable.'[3]

Many savage races do not believe in natural death, and if a man, however old, dies without being wounded, conclude that he must have been the victim of magic. Thus, then, when a savage is ill, he naturally attributes his sufferings to some enemy within him, or to some foreign object, and the result is a peculiar system of treatment, curious both for its simplicity and universality.

'It is remarkable in the Abiponian (Paraguay) phy-'sicians,' says Father Dobritzhoffer,[4] 'that they cure 'every kind of disease with one and the same medicine. 'Let us examine this method of healing. They apply 'their lips to the part affected, and suck it, spitting 'after every suction. At intervals they blow upon that

[1] De Hell's Steppes of the Caspian Sea, p. 256.

[2] Epictetus, trans. by Mrs. Carter, vol. i. pp. 91, 104.

[3] Records of the Past, pub. by the Society of Biblical Literature, vol. i. p. 131.

[4] History of the Abipones, vol. ii. p. 249. See also Azara, Voy. dans l'Amér. Mérid., vol. ii. pp. 25, 117, 140, 142.

'part of the body which is in pain. That blowing and 'sucking are alternately repeated. . . . This method of 'healing is in use amongst all the savages of Paraguay 'and Brazil that I am acquainted with. . . . The 'Abipones, still more irrational, expect sucking and 'blowing to rid the body of whatever causes pain or 'inconvenience. This belief is constantly fostered by 'the jugglers with fresh artifices; for when they pre- 'pare to suck the sick man, they secretly put thorns, 'beetles, worms, &c., into their mouths, and spitting 'them out, after having sucked for some time, say to 'him, pointing to the worm or thorn, "See here the '"cause of your disorder." At this sight the sick man 'revives, when he thinks the enemy that has tormented 'him is at length expelled.'

At first one might almost be disposed to think that some one had been amusing himself at the expense of the worthy father, but we shall find the very same mode of treatment among other races. Martius tells us that the cures of the Guaycurus (Brazil) 'are very simple, 'and consist principally in fumigating or in sucking 'the part affected, on which the Payé spits into a pit, 'as if he would give back the evil principle which he 'has sucked out to the earth and bury it.'[1]

In British Guiana, Mr. Brett mentions that, 'if the 'sorcerer observes signs of recovery, he will pretend to 'extract the cause of the complaint by sucking the part 'affected. After many ceremonies, he will produce from 'his mouth some strange substance, such as a thorn or 'gravel-stone, a fish bone or bird's claw, a snake's tooth 'or a piece of wire, which some malicious yauhahu is

[1] Travels in Brazil, vol. ii. p. 77.

'supposed to have inserted in the affected part.'[1] The Mexican doctors pretend to extract a piece of bone or some other object, which they then indicate to the patient as having been the cause of his suffering.[2]

In North America, among the Carolina tribes, 'the 'theory was that all distempers were caused by evil 'spirits.'[3]

Father Baegert mentions that the Californian sorcerers blow upon and suck those who are ill, and finally show them some small object, assuring them that it had been extracted, and that it was the cause of the pain. Wilkes thus describes a scene at Wallawalla, on the Columbia River :—'The doctor, who was a woman, 'bending over the body, began to suck his neck and 'chest in different parts, in order more effectually to 'extract the bad spirit. She would every now and then 'seem to obtain some of the disease, and then faint 'away. On the next morning she was still found suck-'ing the boy's chest. . . . So powerful was the influence 'operated on the boy that he indeed seemed better. . . . 'The last time Mr. Drayton visited the doctress, she 'exhibited a stone, about the size of a goose's egg, saying 'that she had taken the disease of the boy out of him.'[4]

Among the Prairie Indians, also, all diseases are treated alike, being referred to one cause, viz., the presence of an evil spirit, which must be expelled. This the medicine-man 'attempts, in the first place, by 'certain incantations and ceremonies, intended to secure

[1] Brett's Indian Tribes of Guiana, p. 364.

[2] Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States, vol. ii. p. 602.

[3] Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 31.

[4] United States Exploring Expedition, vol. iv. p. 400. See also Jones's Antiquities of the Southern Indians, pp. 29, 30.

'the aid of the spirit or spirits he worships, and then 'by all kinds of frightful noises and gestures, and suck-'ing over the seat of pain with his mouth.'[1] Speaking of the Hudson's Bay Indians, Hearne says:—'Here it 'is necessary to remark that they use no medicine either 'for internal or external complaints, but perform all 'their cures by charms—in ordinary cases sucking the 'part affected, blowing and singing.'[2]

Again, in the extreme North, Crantz tells us that among the Esquimaux old women are accustomed 'to 'extract from a swollen leg a parcel of hair or scraps 'of leather; they do it by sucking with their mouth, 'which they had before crammed full of such stuff.'[3] Passing on to the Laplanders, we are told that if any one among them is ill, a wizard sucks his forehead and blows in his face, thinking thus to cure him. Among the Tunguses the doctor sucks the forehead of his patient.

In South Africa, Chapman thus describes a similar custom:—A man having been injured, he says, 'our 'friend sucked at the wound, and then . . . extracted 'from his mouth a lump of some substance, which was 'supposed to be the disease.'[4]

In New Zealand,[5] each disease was regarded as being caused by a particular god; thus 'Tonga was the 'god who caused headache and sickness: he took up his 'abode in the forehead. Mako-Tiki, a lizard god, was

[1] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. i. p. 250.

[2] Voyage to the Northern Ocean, p. 189.

[3] History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 14.

[4] Travels in Africa, vol. ii. p. 45. See also Livingstone's Travels in South Africa, p. 130.

[5] Taylor's New Zealand and its Inhabitants, p. 34. Shortland, p. 114.

'the source of all pains in the breast; Tu-tangata-kino 'was the god of the stomach; Titi-hai occasioned pains 'in the ankles and feet; Rongomai and Tuparitapu 'were the gods of consumption; Koro-kio presided 'over childbirth.'

'Sickness,' says Yate,[1] 'is brought on by the '"Atua," who, when he is angry, comes to them in 'the form of a lizard, enters their inside, and preys 'upon their vitals till they die. Hence they use incan- 'tations over the sick, with the expectation of either 'propitiating the angry deity or of driving him away; 'for the latter of which purposes they make use of 'the most threatening and outrageous language.' The Stiens of Cambodia believe 'in an evil genius, and 'attribute all disease to him. If any one be suffering 'from illness, they say it is the demon tormenting 'him; and, with this idea, make, night and day, an 'insupportable noise around the patient.'[2]

'Among the Bechuana tribes, the name adopted by 'the missionaries (for God) is Morimo. . . . Morimo, 'to those who know anything about it, had been 'represented by rain-makers and sorcerers as a male- 'volent being which . . . sometimes came out and 'inflicted diseases on men and cattle, and even caused 'death.' The word did not at first convey to the 'Bechuana mind the idea of a person or persons, but 'of a state or disease, or what superstition would style 'bewitched. . . . They could not describe who or what 'Morimo was, except something cunning or mali- 'cious. . . . They never applied the name to a human

[1] Yate's New Zealand, p. 141.

[2] Mouhot's Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China, vol. i. p. 250.

'being, except in the way of ridicule, or in adulation 'to those who taught his greatness, wisdom, and 'power.'[1]

The same idea occurs in Madagascar. Sibree gives the following account:—'A woman of rank appointed 'for the occasion began to dance, while another, seated 'behind the sick persons, began to beat a worn-out 'spade, suspended by a string, with a hatchet, quite 'close to their ears, making a horrid din. The idea of 'this is to drive the angatra (evil spirit) possessing the 'sick person, into one of those dancing.'[2]

'The good spirits of the departed, Azimo or Bazimo, 'may be propitiated by medicines, or honoured by 'offerings of beer or meal, or anything they loved while 'in the body; and the bad spirits, "Mchesi," of whom 'we have heard only at Litte, and therefore cannot be 'certain that they belong to the pure native faith, may 'be prevented by medicine from making raids, and mischief in the gardens. A man with headache was heard 'to say, "My departed father is now scolding me; I feel '"his power in my head;" and he was observed to remove from the company, make an offering of a little 'food on a leaf, and pray, looking upwards, to where he 'supposed his father's spirit to be. They are not, like 'Mohammedans, ostentatious in their prayers.'[3]

The Koussa Kaffirs,[4] says Lichtenstein, ascribe all their diseases 'to one of three causes: either to being 'enchanted by an enemy; to the anger of certain beings, 'whose abode appears to be in the rivers; or to the 'power of evil spirits.' Among the Kols of Nagpore,

[1] Moffat's Travels, p. 260.
[2] Folk Lore Record, vol. ii. p. 46.
[3] Livingstone, vol. ii. p. 520.
[4] Lichtenstein, vol. ii. p. 255.

as Colonel E. T. Dalton tells us, 'all disease in men 'and in cattle is attributed to one of two causes : the 'wrath of some evil spirit who has to be appeased, 'or the spell of some witch or sorcerer.'[1] The same is the case with the Cinghalese,[2] and indeed with the aboriginal races of India generally.

In Australia, we are told by ex-Governor Eyre, in his interesting work, that, 'as all internal pains are 'attributed to witchcraft, sorcerers possess the power 'of relieving or curing them. Sometimes the mouth is 'applied to the surface where the pain is seated, the 'blood is sucked out, and a bunch of green leaves 'applied to the part. Besides the blood, which is 'derived from the gums of the sorcerer, a bone is some-'times put out of the mouth, and declared to have been 'procured from the diseased part. On other occasions 'the disease is drawn out in an invisible form, and 'burnt in the fire or thrown into the water.'[3]

Thus, then, we find all over the world this primitive cure by sucking out the evil, which perhaps even with ourselves lingers among nurses and children in the universal nursery remedy of 'Kiss it and make it well.'

These misconceptions of the true nature of disease lead to many other singular modes of treatment. Thus, among the Kukis, the doctor, not the patient, takes the remedies. Consequently, food is generally prescribed, and in cases of severe illness a buffalo is sacrificed, and the doctor gives a feast.[4]

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., 1868, p. 30.

[2] St.-Hilaire, Boudha, p. 387.

[3] Discoveries in Central Australia, vol. ii. p. 360. See also Oldfield, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. iii. p. 243.

[4] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 46.

Another curious remedy practised by the Australians is to tie a line round the forehead or neck of the patient, while some kind friend rubs her lips with the 'other end of the string until they bleed freely; this 'blood is supposed to come from the patient, passing 'along the string.'[1] It naturally follows from this, and is, as will be presently shown, the belief of many of the lower races of men, that death also is the work of vile spirits.

Some curious ideas prevalent among savages arise from the fact that as their own actions are due to life, so they attribute life even to inanimate objects. Even Plato assumed that everything which moves itself must have a soul, and hence that the world must have a soul. Hearne tells us that the North American Indians prefer one hook that has caught a big fish to a handful that have never been tried; and that they never put two nets together for fear they should be jealous of one another.[2]

The Esquimaux thought that Captain Lyons's musical box was the child of his small hand-organ.[3]

The Bushmen supposed that Chapman's big waggon was the mother of his smaller ones; they 'despise an 'arrow that has once failed of its mark; and on the 'contrary consider one that has hit as of double value. 'They will, therefore, rather make new arrows, how 'much time and trouble soever it may cost them, than 'collect those that have missed, and use them again.'[4] In Mangaia Mr. Gill informs me that a club or spear

[1] English Colony in New South Wales, pp. 363, 382.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 330.

[3] Lyons's Journal, p. 140.

[4] Lichtenstein's Travels in South Africa, vol. ii. p. 271.

which has not taken human life is not considered fit to go into battle. Hence many an unoffending person is murdered merely to qualify some weapon for use in war.

The natives of Tahiti sowed some iron nails given them by Captain Cook, hoping thus to obtain young ones. They also believe that 'not only all animals, but 'trees, fruit, and even stones, have souls, which at death, 'or upon being consumed or broken, ascend to the divi- 'nity, with whom they first mix, and afterwards pass 'into the mansion allotted to each.'

The Tongans were of opinion that 'if an animal 'dies,[1] its soul immediately goes to Bolotoo ; if a stone 'or any other substance is broken, immortality is equally 'its reward ; nay, artificial bodies have equal good luck 'with men, and hogs, and yams. If an axe or a chisel 'is worn out or broken up, away flies its soul for the 'service of the gods. If a house is taken down or any 'way destroyed, its immortal part will find a situation 'on the plains of Bolotoo.' Hence probably the custom of breaking the implements, &c., buried with the dead. This was done to render them useless, for the savage would not dream of violating the sanctity of the tomb ; but because the implements required to be 'killed,' so that their spirits, like those of the wives and slaves, might accompany their master to the land of shadows.

Lichtenstein relates that the king of the Koussa Kaffirs, having broken off a piece of the anchor of a stranded ship, died soon afterwards ; upon which all the Kaffirs made a point of saluting the anchor very respectfully whenever they passed near it, regarding it as a vindictive being.

[1] Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 137.

Some similar accident probably gave rise to the ancient Mohawk notion that some great misfortune would happen if any one spoke on Saratoga Lake. A strong-minded Englishwoman, on one occasion, while being ferried over, insisted on talking, and, as she got across safely, rallied her boatman on his superstition; but I think he had the best of it after all, for he at once replied, 'The Great Spirit is merciful, and knows that a 'white woman cannot hold her tongue.' [1]

The forms of Salutation among savages are sometimes very curious, and their modes of showing their feelings quite unlike ours, though they can generally be explained without difficulty. Kissing appears to us to be the natural language of affection. 'It is certain,' says Steele, 'that nature was its author, and it began 'with the first courtship;' but this seems to be quite a mistake. In fact, it was unknown to the Australians, the Papouans, the Indians of Guiana, and the Esquimaux. The Polynesians did not kiss; they pressed not the lips, but the nose. The African negroes, we are told, do not like it, otherwise I should have thought that, when once discovered, it would have been universally popular. The New Zealanders, and the Hervey Islanders did not know how to whistle; [2] the West Africans do not shake hands; [3] the Batonga (one of the tribes residing on the Zambesi) salute their friends by throwing themselves on their backs on the ground, rolling from side to side, and slapping their thighs with their hands.[4]

[1] Burton's Abbeokuta, vol. i. p. 198.

[2] Traditions of the New Zealanders, p. 131.

[3] Burton's Mission to Dahome, vol. i. p. 36.

[4] Livingstone's Travels in South Africa, p. 551.

Clapping of hands is a high mark of respect in Loango, and occurs also in various other negro tribes; the Dahomans and some of the coast negroes snap their fingers at a person as a compliment. In Loango courtiers salute the king by leaping backwards and forwards two or three times, and swinging their arms. The Fuegians show friendship by jumping up and down, and amongst ourselves 'jumping for joy' has become proverbial.

The Bakaa, one of the Zambesi tribes, have a peculiar prejudice against children who cut the upper front teeth before the lower ones; and 'you cut your 'top teeth first' is one of the bitterest insults a man can receive.[1] I understand that among English nurses also it is considered to indicate a weakly constitution.

The Polynesians and the Malays always sit down when speaking to a superior; a Chinaman puts on his hat instead of taking it off. Cook asserts that the people of Mallicollo show their admiration by hissing, and the same is the case, according to Casalis, among the Kaffirs.[2] In some of the Pacific Islands, in parts of Hindostan[3] and some parts of Africa, it is considered respectful to turn your back to a superior. In the Hervey Islands the head is thrown back, instead of forwards, as a salutation. Doughty[4] tells us that in Arabia, if a beast is ill, they spit into water and then give it to the animal to drink. Parents also often ask their children to spit at them. He is disposed to consider that this is done as a protection against evil spirits, but does not

[1] Livingstone, *loc. cit.* p. 577.

[2] The Basutos, by the Rev. E. Casalis, p. 234.

[3] Dubois, *loc. cit.* p. 210.

[4] Travels in Arabia Deserta, by C. M. Doughty, vol. ii. p. 164.

seem very clear on the subject. Some of the New Guinea tribes salute a friend by squeezing their own noses ;[1] on the White Nile,[2] in Masai-land, and in Ashantee they spit at you,[3] and the people of Iddah shake their fist as a friendly greeting.[4] The Todas of the Neilgherry Hills are said to show respect by 'raising 'the open right hand to the brow, resting the thumb on 'the nose ;' on the upper Nile, Dr. Schweinfurth tells us[5] that the mode of showing admiration is to open the mouth wide, and then cover it with the open hand ; and it has been asserted that in one tribe of Esquimaux it is customary to pull a person's nose as a compliment, though it is but right to say that Dr. Rae thinks there was some mistake on the point ; on the other hand, Dr. Blackmore mentions that 'the sign of the Arapahoes, 'and from which they derive their name,' consists in seizing the nose with the thumb and forefinger.[6]

It is asserted that in China a coffin is regarded as an appropriate present for an aged relative, especially if he be in bad health.

[1] Comrie, Jour. Anthr. Inst. 1876, p. 108.

[2] Petherick, pp. 424, 441. Schweinfurth, vol. i. p. 204.

[3] Dupuis, p. 178.

[4] Allen and Thomson, vol. i. p. 290.

[5] Heart of Africa, vol. ii. p. 77.

[6] Trans. Ethn. Soc. 1869, p. 310.

CHAPTER II.

ART AND ORNAMENTS.

THE earliest traces of art yet discovered belong to the Stone Age—to a time so remote that the reindeer was abundant in the south of France, and that probably, though on this point there is some doubt, even the mammoth had not entirely disappeared. These works of art are sometimes sculptures, if one may say so, and sometimes drawings or etchings made on bone or horn with the point of a flint.

They are of peculiar interest, both as being the most ancient works of art known to us—older than any Egyptian statues, or any of the Assyrian monuments—and also because, though so ancient, they show really considerable skill. There is, for instance, a certain spirit about the subjoined group of reindeer (fig. 1), copied from a specimen in the collection of the Marquis de Vibraye. The mammoth (Pl. I.) represented on the opposite page, though less artistic, is perhaps even more interesting. It is scratched on a piece of mammoth's tusk, and was found in the cave of La Madeleine in the Dordogne.

It is somewhat remarkable that while even in the Stone Period we find very fair drawings of animals, yet in the latest part of the Stone Age, and throughout that of Bronze, they are almost entirely wanting, and the

ornamentation is confined to various combinations of straight and curved lines and geometrical patterns. This, I believe, will eventually be found to imply a difference of race between the population of Western Europe at these different periods. Thus at present the Esquimaux (see figs. 2–4) are very fair draughtsmen, while the Polynesians, though much more advanced in many ways, and though skilful in ornamenting both themselves and their weapons, have very little idea

FIG. 1

GROUP OF REINDEER

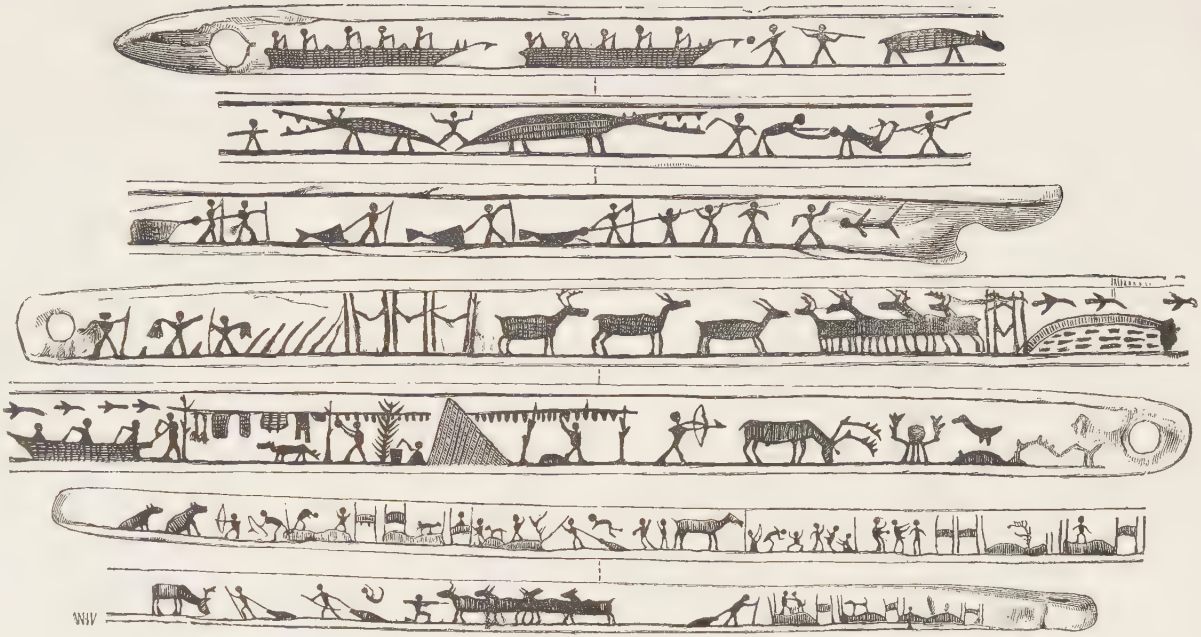
indeed of representing animals or plants. Their tattooings, for instance, and the patterns on their weapons, are, like the ornaments of the Bronze Age, almost invariably of a geometrical character. Representations of animals and plants are not, indeed, entirely wanting; but, whether attempted in drawing or in sculpture, they are always rude and grotesque. With the Esquimaux the very reverse is the case: among them we find none of those graceful spirals, and other geometrical patterns,

so characteristic of Polynesia; but, on the other hand, their weapons are often covered with representations of animals and hunting scenes. Thus Beechey,[1] describing the weapons of the Esquimaux at Hotham's Inlet, says :—

'On the outside of this and other instruments there 'were etched a variety of figures of men, beasts, birds, '&c., with a truth and a character which showed the 'art to be common among them. The reindeer were 'generally in herds; in one picture they were pursued 'by a man in a stooping posture, in snow-shoes; in 'another he had approached nearer to his game, and 'was in the act of drawing his bow. A third repre-'sented the manner of taking seals with an inflated skin 'of the same animal as a decoy; it was placed upon the 'ice, and not far from it was a man lying upon his 'belly, with a harpoon ready to strike the animal when 'it should make its appearance. Another was dragging 'a seal home upon a small sledge; and several baidars 'were employed harpooning whales which had been 'previously shot with arrows; and thus, by comparing 'one with another, a little history was obtained which 'gave us a better insight into their habits than could be 'elicited from any signs or intimations.' Some of these drawings are represented in figs. 2–4, which are taken from specimens presented by Captain Beechey to the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Hooper[2] also mentions drawings among the Tuski, especially 'a sealskin tanned and bleached perfectly 'white, ornamented all over in painting and staining

[1] Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 251.
[2] Tents of the Tuski, p. 65.



ETCHINGS ON ESQUIMAUX INSTRUMENTS

'with figures of men, boats, animals, and delineations of 'whale-fishing, &c.'

In the same way we may, I think, fairly hope eventually to obtain from the ancient drawings of the bone caves a better insight into the habits of our predecessors in Western Europe; to ascertain, for instance, whether their reindeer were domesticated or wild. As yet, however, mere representations of animals have been met with, and nothing has been found to supplement in any way the evidence derivable from the implements, &c.

But though we thus find traces of art—simple, indeed, but by no means contemptible—in very ancient times, and among very savage tribes, there are also other races who are singularly deficient in this respect.

Thus, though some Australians are capable of making rude drawings of animals, &c., others, on the contrary, as Oldfield[1] tells us, 'seem quite unable to 'realise the most vivid artistic representations. On 'being shown a large coloured engraving of an abo- 'riginal New Hollander, one declared it to be a ship, 'another a kangaroo, and so on; not one of a dozen 'identifying the portrait as having any connection with 'himself. A rude drawing, with all the lesser parts 'much exaggerated, they can realise. Thus, to give 'them an idea of a man, the head must be drawn dis- 'proportionately large.'

Dr. Collingwood,[2] speaking of the Kibalans of For- 'mosa, to whom he showed a copy of the 'Illustrated 'London News,' tells us that he found it 'impossible

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. iii. p. 227.
[2] *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 139.

'to interest them by pointing out the most striking 'illustrations, which they did not appear to compre- 'hend.'

Denham in his 'Travels in Central Africa,' says that Bookhaloom, a man otherwise of considerable intelligence, though he readily recognised figures, could not understand a landscape. 'I could not,' he says, 'make him understand the intention of the print of the 'sandwind in the desert, which is really so well described 'by Captain Lyons's drawing; he would look at it up- 'side down; and when I twice reversed it for him he 'exclaimed, "Why! why! it is all the same." A 'camel or a human figure was all I could make him 'understand, and at these he was all agitation and 'delight—"Gieb! gieb!"—Wonderful! wonderful! 'The eyes first took his attention, then the other 'features; at the sight of the sword he exclaimed, '"Allah! Allah!" and on discovering the guns, 'instantly exclaimed, "Where is the powder?"'[1]

So also the Kaffir has great difficulty in understanding drawings. and perspective is altogether beyond him. Central and Southern Africa seem, indeed, to be very backward in matters of art. Still, the negroes are not altogether deficient in the idea. Their idols cannot be called, indeed, works of art, but they often not only represent men, but give some of the African characteristics with grotesque fidelity.

The Kaffirs also can carve fair representations of animals and plants, and are fond of doing so. The handles of their spoons are often shaped into unmistakable likenesses of giraffes, ostriches, and other animals.

[1] Denham's Travels in Africa, vol. i. p. 167.

As to the Bushmen, we have rather different accounts. It has been stated by some that they have no idea of perspective, nor of how a curved surface can possibly be represented on a flat piece of paper; while, on the contrary, other travellers assert that they readily recognise drawings of animals or flowers. The Chinese, although so advanced in many ways, are, we know, very deficient in the idea of perspective.

We may safely conclude that no race of men in the Stone Age had attained the art of communicating facts by means of letters, or even by the far ruder system of picture-writing; nor does anything, perhaps, surprise the savage more than to find that Europeans can communicate with one another by means of a few black scratches on a piece of paper.

Even the Peruvians had no better means of recording events than the Quippu or Quipu, which was a cord about two feet long, to which a number of different coloured threads were attached in the form of a fringe. These threads were tied into knots, whence the name Quippu, meaning a knot. These knots served as cyphers, and the various threads had also conventional meanings attached to them, indicated by the various colours. This singular and apparently very cumbersome mode of assisting the memory reappears in China and in Africa. Thus, 'As to[1] the original of the Chinese characters, 'before the commencement of the monarchy, little cords 'with sliding knots, each of which had its particular 'signification, were used in transacting business. These 'are represented in two tables by the *Chinese*, called 'Hotû, and *Lo-shu*. The first colonies who inhabited

[1] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 194.

'*Sechuen* had no other literature besides some arith-'metical sets of counters made with little knotted cords 'in imitation of a string of round beads, with which 'they calculated and made up all their accounts in com-'merce.' Again, in West Africa, we are told that the people of Ardrah[1] 'can neither write nor read. They 'use small cords tied, the knots of which have their 'signification. These are also used by several savage 'nations in America.' It seems not impossible that tying a knot in a pocket-handkerchief may be the direct lineal representative of this ancient and widely-extended mode of assisting the memory.

The so-called picture-writing is, however, a great advance. Yet from representations of hunts in general, such as those of the Esquimaux (see figs. 2–4), it is indeed but a step to record pictorially some particular hunt. Again, the Esquimaux almost always places his mark on his arrows, but I am not aware that any Polynesian ever conceived the idea of doing so. Thus we get among the Esquimaux a double commencement, as it were, for the representation of ideas by means of signs.

This art of pictorial writing was still more advanced among the Red Skins. Thus Carver tells us that on one occasion his Chipéway guide, fearing that the Naudowessies, a hostile tribe, might accidentally fall in with and attack them, 'peeled the bark from a large tree near 'the entrance of a river, and with wood-coal mixed with 'bear's grease, their usual substitute for ink, made in an 'uncouth but expressive manner the figure of the town of 'the Ottagaumies. He then formed to the left a man

[1] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 71.

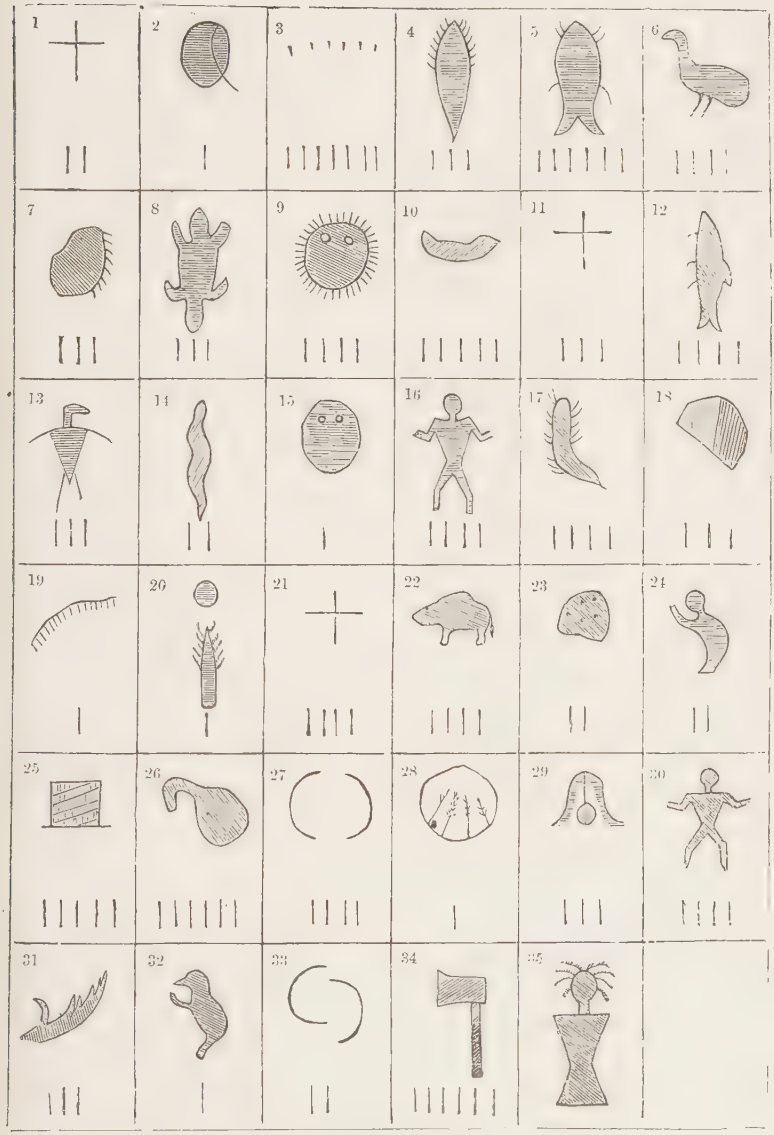
'dressed in skins, by which he intended to represent a 'Naudowessie, with a line drawn from his mouth to that 'of a deer, the symbol of the Chipéways. After this he 'depicted still farther to the left a canoe as proceeding 'up the river, in which he placed a man sitting with 'a hat on; this figure was designed to represent an 'Englishman, or myself, and my Frenchman was drawn 'with a handkerchief tied round his head, and rowing 'the canoe; to these he added several other significant 'emblems, among which the pipe of peace appeared 'painted on the prow of the canoe. The meaning he 'intended to convey to the Naudowessies, and which I 'doubt not appeared perfectly intelligible to them, was 'that one of the Chipéway chiefs had received a speech 'from some Naudowessie chiefs at the town of the Otta-'gaumies, desiring him to conduct the Englishman, who 'had lately been among them, up the Chipéway river; 'and that they thereby required that the Chipéway, 'notwithstanding he was an avowed enemy, should 'not be molested by them on his passage, as he had the 'care of the person whom they esteemed as one of their 'nation.'[1]

An excellent account of the Red Skin pictorial art is given by Schoolcraft in his 'History of the Indian 'Tribes in the United States.'

Fig. 5 represents the census-roll of an Indian band at Mille Lac, in the territory of Minnesota, sent in to the United States agent by Nago-nabe, a Chipéway Indian, during the progress of the annuity payments in 1849. The Indians generally denote themselves by their 'totem,' or family sign; but in this case, as they all had

[1] Carver's Travels, p. 418.

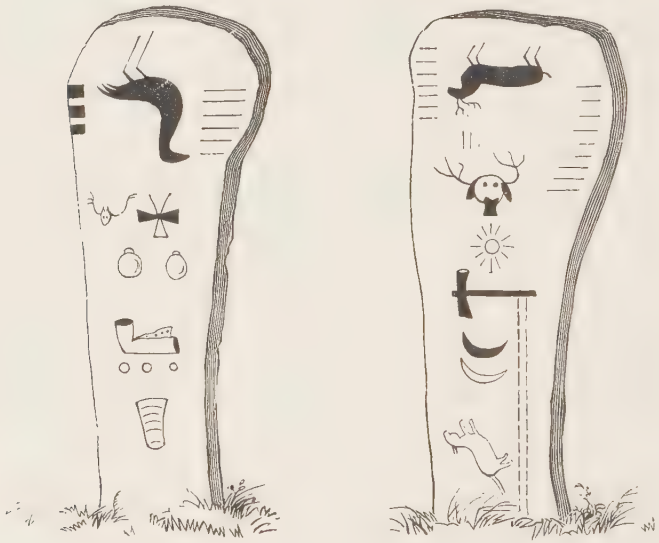
FIG. 5



INDIAN CENSUS-ROLL

the same totem, he had designated each family by a sign denoting the common name of the chief. Thus number 5 denotes a catfish, and the six strokes indicate that the Catfish's family consisted of six individuals ; 8 is a beaver skin, 9 a sun, 13 an eagle, 14 a snake, 22 a buffalo, 34 an axe, 35 the medicine-man, and so on.

Fig. 6 Fig. 7



INDIAN GRAVE-POSTS (Schoolcraft, vol. i. pl. 50)

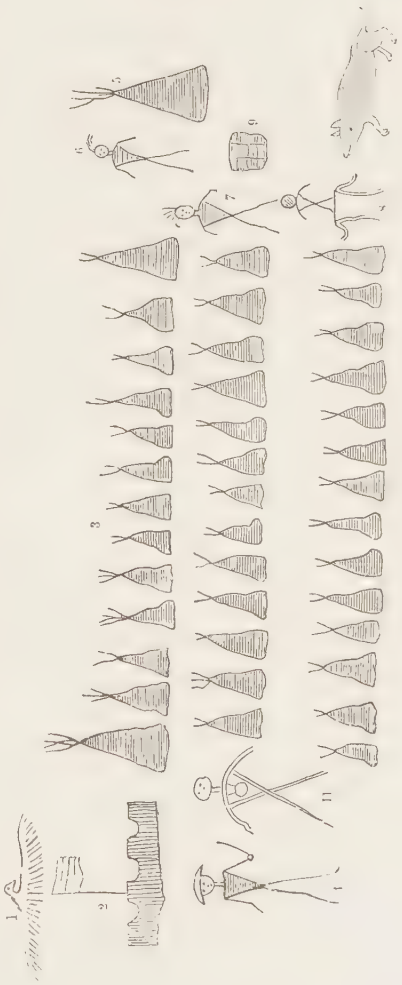
Fig. 6 is the record of a noted chief of the St. Mary's band, called Shin-ga-ba-was-sin, or the Image-stone, who died on Lake Superior in 1828. He was of the totem of the crane, as indicated by the figure. The six strokes on the right, and the three on the left, are marks of honour. The latter represent three important general treaties of peace in which he had taken part at various times.[1] Among the former marks are included his

[1] Schoolcraft, Indian Tribes, vol. i. p. 357.

presence under Tecumseh, at the battle of Moraviantown, where he lost a brother.

Fig. 7 represents the adjedatig, or tomb-board, of Wabojeeg, a celebrated war-chief, who died on Lake Superior, about 1793. He was of the family or clan of the reindeer. This fact is symbolised by the figure of the deer. The reverse position denotes death. His own personal name, which was the White Fisher, is not noticed. The seven marks on the left denote that he had led seven war parties. The three perpendicular lines below the totem represent three wounds received in battle. The figure of a moose's head relates to a desperate conflict with an enraged animal of this kind. Fig. 8 is copied from a bark letter which was found above St. Anthony's Falls in 1820. 'It consisted of white birch bark, and the figures had

Fig. 8



INDIAN BARK LETTER

'been carefully drawn. No. 1 denotes the flag of the 'Union: No. 2 the cantonment, then recently established, 'at Cold Spring, on the western side of the cliffs, above 'the influx of the St. Peters: No. 4 is the symbol of the 'commanding officer (Colonel H. Leavenworth), under 'whose authority a mission of peace had been sent into 'the Chippewa country: No. 11 is the symbol of 'Chakope, or the Six, the leading Sioux chief, under 'whose orders the party moved: No. 8 is the second 'chief, called Wabedatunka, or the Black Dog. The 'symbol of his name is No. 10; he has fourteen lodges. 'No. 7 is a chief, subordinate to Chakope, with thirteen 'lodges, and a bale of goods (No. 9), which was devoted 'by the Government to the objects of the peace. The 'name of No. 6, whose wigwam is No. 5, with thirteen 'subordinate lodges, was not given.'[1]

This was intended to imply that a party of Sioux, headed by Chakope, and accompanied or at least countenanced by Colonel Leavenworth, had come to this spot in the hope of meeting the Chippewa hunters and concluding a peace. The Chippewa chief, Babesacundabee, who found this letter, read off its meaning without doubt or hesitation.

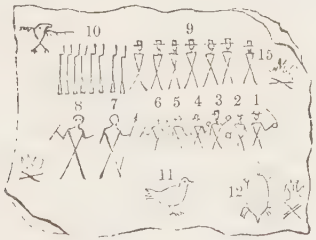
On one occasion a party of explorers, with two Indian guides, saw, one morning, just as they were about to start, a pole stuck in the direction they were going, and holding at the top a piece of bark, covered with drawings, intended for the information of any other Indians who might pass that way. This is represented in fig. 9.

No. 1 represents the subaltern officer in command

[1] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. i. pp. 352, 353.

of the party. He is drawn with a sword, to denote his rank. No. 2 denotes the secretary. He is represented as holding a book, the Indians having understood him to be an attorney. No. 3 represents the geologist, appropriately indicated by a hammer. Nos. 4 and 5 are attachés ; No. 6 the interpreter. The group of figures marked 9 represents seven infantry soldiers, each of whom, as shown in group No. 10, was armed with a musket. No. 15 denotes that they had a separate fire, and constituted a separate mess. Figs. 7 and 8 represent the two Chippewa guides. These are the only

FIG. 9

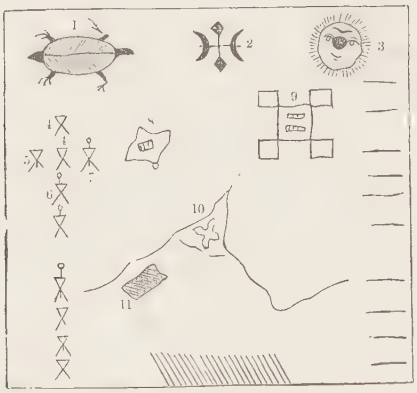


INDIAN BARK LETTER

human figures drawn without the distinguishing symbol of a hat. This was the characteristic seized on by them, and generally employed by the Indians, to distinguish the *Red* from the *White* race. Figs. 11 and 12 represent a prairie hen and a green tortoise, which constituted the sum of the preceding day's chase, and were eaten at the encampment. The inclination of the pole was designed to show the course pursued, and there were three hacks in it below the scroll of bark, to indicate the estimated length of this part of the journey, computing from water to water. The following figure (fig. 10) gives the biography of Wingemund, a noted chief of the

Delawares. 1 shows that it belonged to the oldest branch of the tribe, which use the tortoise as their symbol ; 2 is his totem or symbol ; 3 is the sun, and the ten strokes represent ten war parties in which he was engaged. Those figures on the left represent the captives which he made in each of his excursions, the men being distinguished from the women, and the captives being denoted by having heads, while a man without his head is of course a dead man. The central figures represent three

Fig. 10



INDIAN BIOGRAPHY

forts which he attacked ; 8 one on Lake Erie, 9 that of Detroit, and 10 Fort Pitt, at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela. The sloping strokes denote the number of his followers.[1]

Fig. 11 represents a petition presented to the President of the United States for the right to certain lakes (8) in the neighbourhood of Lake Superior (10).

No. 1 represents Oshcabawis, the leader, who is of

[1] Schoolcraft, vol. i. p. 353.

FIG. 11

the Crane clan. The eyes of his followers are all connected with his to symbolise unity of views, and their hearts to denote unity of feeling. No. 2 is Wai-mit-tig-oazh, whose totem is a marten ; No. 3 is Ogemageezhig, also a marten ; 4 is another marten, Muk-o-mis-udains, the Little Tortoise ; 5 is O-mush-kose, the Little Elk, belonging, however, to the Bear totem ; 6 belongs to the Manfish totem, and 7 to the Catfish. The eye of the leader has a line directed forwards to the President, and another backwards to the lakes (8).

The manner in which such picture-writing would ultimately have led to the use of an alphabet, would probably have been that the drawings would have come to represent, first a word, and then a sound, being at the same time simplified and conventionalised.

In some places of Western Europe, rock sculptures have been discovered, to which we cannot yet safely ascribe any meaning, but on which perhaps the more complete study of the picture-writing of modern savages may eventually throw some light.

We will now pass to art as applied to the purposes of personal decoration. Savages are passionately fond of ornaments. In some of the very lowest races, indeed, the women are almost undecorated, but that is only because the men keep all the ornaments themselves. As a general rule, we may say that Southerners ornament themselves, Northerners their clothes. In fact, all savage races who leave much of their skin uncovered delight in painting themselves in the most brilliant colours they can obtain. Black, white, red, and yellow are the favourite, or rather, perhaps, the commonest colours. Although perfectly naked, the Australians of Botany

Bay were by no means without ornaments. They painted themselves with red ochre, white clay, and charcoal; the red was laid on in broad patches, the white generally in stripes, or on the face in spots, often with a circle round each eye;[1] through the septum of the nose they wore a bone as thick as a man's finger and five or six inches long. This was of course very awkward, as it prevented them from breathing freely through the nose, but they submitted cheerfully to the inconvenience for the sake of appearance.

They had also necklaces made of shells, neatly cut and strung together; earrings, bracelets of small cord, and strings of plaited human hair, which they wound round their waists. Some also had gorgets of large shells hanging from the neck across the breast. On all these things they placed a high value.

Spix and Martius[2] thus describe the ornaments of a Coroado woman:—'On the cheek she had a circle, and 'over that two strokes; under the nose several marks 'resembling an M; from the corners of the mouth to 'the middle of the cheek were two parallel lines, and 'below them on both sides many straight stripes; 'below and between her breasts there were some con-'nected segments of circles, and down her arms the 'figure of a snake was depicted. This beauty wore no 'ornaments, except a necklace of monkeys' teeth.'

In Tanna 'one would have the one half of his face 'smeared with red clay, and the other the plain dark 'copper skin; another would have the brow and cheeks 'red; another would have the brow red and cheeks

[1] Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 635.

[2] Travels in Brazil, vol. ii. p. 224.

'black; another all the face red, and a round, black, 'glittering spot on the forehead; and another would 'have his face black all over. The black all over, by the 'way, was the sign of mourning.'[1]

The savage also wears necklaces and rings, bracelets and anklets, armlets and leglets—even, if I may say so, bodylets. Round their bodies, round their necks, round their arms and legs, their fingers, and even their toes, they wear ornaments of all kinds. From their number and weight these must sometimes be very inconvenient. Lichtenstein saw the wife of a Beetuan chief wearing no less than seventy-two brass rings.

A South African chieftainess, visited by Livingstone,[2] wore 'eighteen solid brass rings, as thick as 'one's finger, on each leg, and three of copper under 'each knee; nineteen brass rings on her left arm, and 'eight of brass and copper on her right; also a large 'ivory ring above each elbow. She had a pretty bead 'necklace, and a bead sash encircled her waist.'

Nor are they particular as to the material: copper, brass, or iron, leather or ivory, stones, shells, glass, bits of wood, seeds, or teeth—nothing comes amiss. In South-East Island, one of the Louisiade Archipelago, M'Gillivray even saw several bracelets made each of a lower human jaw, crossed by a collar bone; and other travellers have seen brass curtain rings, the brass plates for keyholes, the lids of sardine cases, and other such incongruous objects, worn with much gravity and pride.

The Felatah ladies in Central Africa spend several

[1] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 5.
[2] Exp. to the Zambesi, p. 284.

hours a day over their toilet. In fact they begin overnight by carefully wrapping their fingers and toes in henna leaves, so that by morning they are a rich purple. The teeth are stained alternately blue, yellow, and purple, one here and there being left of its natural colour, as a contrast. About the eyelids they are very particular ; pencilling them with sulphuret of antimony. The hair is coloured carefully with indigo. Studs and other jewellery are worn in great profusion.[1]

Not content with hanging things round their necks, arms, ankles, and in fact wherever nature has enabled them to do so, savages also cut holes in themselves for the purpose.

The Esquimaux from Mackenzie River westward make two openings in their cheeks, one on each side, which they gradually enlarge, and in which they wear an ornament of stone resembling in form a large stud, and which may therefore be called a cheek stud. Brenchley saw the natives of the Solomon Islands decorated by crabs' claws stuck in the cartilage of the nose.[2]

Throughout a great part of Western America, and again in Africa, we also find the custom of wearing a piece of wood through the central part of the lower lip. A small hole is made in the lip during infancy, and it is then extended by degrees until it is sometimes as much as two inches long. Some races extend the lobe of the ear until it reaches the shoulder ; others file the teeth in various manners.

Thus, among the Rejangs of Sumatra, ' both sexes

[1] Laird's Expedition into the Interior of Africa, vol. ii. p. 94.

[2] Cruise of the ' Curacoa,' p. 250.

'have the extraordinary custom of filing and otherwise 'disfiguring their teeth, which are naturally very white 'and beautiful, from the simplicity of their food. For 'files they make use of small whetstones of different 'degrees of fineness, and the patients lie on their backs 'during the operation. Many, particularly women of 'the Lampong country, have their teeth rubbed down 'quite even with the gums; others have them formed 'in points, and some file off no more than the outer 'coat and extremities, in order that they may the 'better receive and retain the jetty blackness with 'which they almost universally adorn them.'[1]

In Dr. Davis's collection is a Dyak skull in which the six front teeth have each been carefully pierced with a small hole, into which a pin with a spherical brass head has been driven. In this way, the upper lip being raised, the shining knob on each tooth would be displayed.[2] Some of the African tribes also chip their teeth in various manners, each community having a fashion of its own.

Ornamentation of the skin is almost universal among the lower races of men. In some cases every individual follows his own fancy; in others, each clan has a special pattern. Thus, speaking of Abeokuta, Captain Burton[3] says:—'There was a variety of tattoos and orna-'mentation, rendering them a serious difficulty to 'strangers. The skin patterns were of every variety, 'from the diminutive prick to the great gash and the 'large boil-like lumps. They affected various figures '—tortoises, alligators, and the favourite lizard, stars,

[1] Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 52.

[2] Thesaurus Craniorum, p. 289.

[3] Abeokuta, vol. i. p. 104.

'concentric circle, lozenges, right lines, welts, gouts of 'gore, marble or button-like knobs of flesh, and ele- 'vated scars, resembling scalds, which are opened for 'the introduction of fetish medicines, and to expel evil 'influences. In this country every tribe, sub-tribe, and 'even family, has its blazon,[1] whose infinite diversifica- 'tions may be compared with the lines and ordinaries 'of European heraldry.'

'The Ardrahs[2] make an incision in each cheek, 'turning up a part of the flesh towards the ears and 'healing it in that position. The Mahees are distin- 'guished by three long oblique cuts on one cheek, and a 'cross on the other.'

In South Africa the Nyambanas are characterised by a row of pimples or warts, about the size of a pea, and extending from the upper part of the forehead to the tip of the nose. Among the Bachapin Kaffirs, those who have distinguished themselves in battle are allowed the privilege of marking their thigh with a long scar, which is rendered indelible and of a bluish colour by rubbing ashes into the fresh wound.

The tribal mark of the Bunns[3] (Africa) consists of three slashes from the crown of the head down the face toward the mouth; the ridges of flesh stand out in bold relief. This painful operation is performed by cutting the skin, and taking out a strip of flesh; palm oil and wood ashes are then rubbed into the wound, thus causing a thick ridge. The Bornouese in Central Africa have twenty cuts or lines on each side of the

[1] See also Baikie's Exploring Voyage, pp. 77, 294, 336, and especially 450.

[2] Dalzel, History of Dahom, p. xviii.

[3] Trans. Ethn. Soc., vol. v. p. 86.

face, which are drawn from the corners of the mouth towards the angles of the lower jaw and cheekbone. They have also one cut in the centre of the forehead, six on each arm, six on each leg, four on each breast, and nine on each side, just above the hips. This makes 91 large cuts, and the process is said to be extremely painful on account of the heat and flies.[1]

The islanders of Torres Straits ornament themselves by a large oval scar, slightly raised and neatly made. It is situated on the right shoulder, but some of them have a second on the left. At Cape York many of the natives also had two or three long transverse scars on the chest. Many had also a two-horned mark on each breast, but these differences seemed to depend on the taste of the individual.

The custom of tattooing is found almost all over the world, though, as might be expected, it is most developed in hot countries. In Siberia, however, the Ostiak women tattoo the backs of the hands, the forearm and the front of the leg. The men only tattoo, on the wrist, the mark or sign which stands as their signature.[2]

Among the Tuski[3] 'the faces of the women are tattooed on the chin in diverging lines; men only make 'a permanent mark on the face for an act of prowess 'or success, such as killing a bear, capturing a whale, '&c., and possibly also, in war time, for the death of an 'enemy.' The Aleutian Islanders decorate their hands and faces with figures of quadrupeds, birds, flowers, &c.

[1] Denham, vol. iii. p. 175.
[2] Pallas, vol. iv. p. 56.
[3] Hooper, the Tents of the Tuski, p. 37.

Among the Tunguses the patterns are generally formed by straight and curved lines.[1]

Among the Arabs[2] 'the Aenezi women puncture 'their lips and dye them blue; the Serhhan women 'puncture their cheeks, breasts, and arms, and the 'Ammour women their ankles.'

The Malagasy do not generally tattoo, but the women of the Bétsilèo tribes, according to Mr. Campbell,[3] have their arms 'tattooed all over, some of them 'having also a kind of open-work collar tattooed round 'their necks. The breasts of the men were ornamented 'after the same fashion.'

Many of the hill tribes of India tattoo.[4] Among the Abors, for instance, the men have a cross on the forehead; the women a smaller one on the upper lip just below the nose, and seven stripes under the mouth. The Khyens are more extensively tattooed, with figures of animals, &c.; they admit that it is not ornamental, but allege that they were driven to it because their women were naturally so beautiful that they were constantly carried off by neighbouring tribes. The Oraon women have three marks on the brow and two on the temple, while the men burn marks on their forearm.

The women of Brumer Island, on the south coast of New Guinea, were tattooed on the face, arms, and front of the body, but generally not on the back, in vertical stripes less than an inch apart, and connected by zigzag markings. On the face these were more complicated,

[1] Müller's Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Emp. de Russie, pt. iii. pp. 58, 112.

[2] Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, vol. i. p. 51.

[3] Sibree's Madagascar and its People, p. 221.

[4] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, pp. 27, 114, 251.

and on the forearm and wrist they were frequently so elaborate as to resemble lace-work.[1] The men were more rarely tattooed, and then only with a few lines or stars on the right breast. Sometimes, however, the markings consisted of a double series of large stars and dots stretching from the shoulder to the pit of the stomach.

Not content with the paint already mentioned, the inhabitants of Tanna have on their arms and chests elevated scars, representing plants, flowers, stars, and various other figures. 'The inhabitants of Tazovan, 'or Formosa, by a very painful operation, impress on 'their naked skins various figures of trees, flowers, 'and animals. The great men in Guinea have their 'skin flowered like damask; and in Decan the women 'likewise have flowers cut into their flesh on the fore-'head, the arms, and the breast, and the elevated scars 'are painted in colours, and exhibit the appearance of 'flowered damask.'[2]

In the Tonga Islands 'the men are tattooed from 'the middle of the thigh to above the hips. The women 'are only tattooed on the arms and fingers, and there 'very slightly.'[3] In the Fiji Islands, on the contrary, the women are tattooed and not the men.

In the Gambier Islands, Beechey says,[4] 'tattooing is 'so universally practised, that it is rare to meet a man 'without it; and it is carried to such an extent that 'the figure is sometimes covered with small checkered 'lines from the neck to the ankles, though the breast is

[1] M'Gillivray's Voyage of the 'Rattlesnake,' vol. i. p. 262.

[2] Forster's Observations made during a Voyage round the World, p. 588.

[3] Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 218.

[4] Beechey, vol. i. p. 138.

'generally exempt, or only ornamented with a single 'device. In some, generally elderly men, the face is 'covered below the eyes, in which case the lines or net-'work are more open than on other parts of the body, 'probably on account of the pain of the operation, and 'terminate at the upper part in a straight line from ear 'to ear, passing over the bridge of the nose. With 'these exceptions, to which we may add the fashion, 'with some few, of blue lines, resembling stockings, 'from the middle of the thigh to the ankle, the effect is 'becoming, and in a great measure destroys the appear-'ance of nakedness. The patterns which most improve 'the shape, and which appear to me peculiar to this 'group, are those which extend from the armpits to 'the hips, and are drawn forward with a curve which 'seems to contract the waist, and at a short distance 'gives the figure an elegance and outline, not unlike 'that of the figures seen on the walls of the Egyptian 'tombs.'

Fig. 12 represents a Caroline Islander, after Freycinet, and gives an idea of the tattooing, though it cannot be taken as representing the form or features characteristic of those islanders.

The tattooing of the Sandwich Islanders is less ornamental, the devices being, according to Arago, 'unmeaning and whimsical, without taste, and in general 'badly executed.'[1] Perhaps, however, the most beautiful of all was that of the New Zealanders (see figs. 13 and 14), who were generally tattooed in curved or spiral lines. The process is extremely painful, particularly on the lips; but to shrink from it, or even to

[1] Arago's Letters, pt. ii. p. 147.

show any signs of suffering while under the operation, would be thought very unmanly. The natives used the 'Moko' or pattern of their tattooing as a kind of

FIG. 12

CAROLINE ISLANDER

signature. The women have their lips tattooed with horizontal lines. To have red lips is thought to be a great reproach.[1]

[1] For details of Polynesian tattooing see Hale's United States Exploring Expedition: Ethnography, p. 40.

When tastefully executed, tattooing has been regarded by many travellers as a real ornament. Thus Laird says that some of the tattooing in West Africa 'in the absence of clothing gives a finish to the skin.' [1]

Many similar cases might be given in which savages ornament themselves, as they suppose, in a manner which must be very painful. Perhaps none is more remarkable

FIG. 13

HEAD OF NEW ZEALANDER

FIG. 14

HEAD OF NEW ZEALANDER

than the practice which we find in several parts of the world of modifying the human form by means of tight bandages. The small size of the Chinese ladies' feet is a well-known case, but is scarcely less mischievous than the compression of the waist as practised in Europe. The Samoans [2] and some of the American tribes even modified the form of the head. One would have

[1] Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa, vol. i. p. 291.

[2] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 175.

supposed that any such compression would have exercised a very prejudicial effect on the intellect; but, as far as the existing evidence goes, it does not appear to do so.

The mode of dealing with the hair varies very much in different races. Some races remove it almost entirely, some leave a ridge along the top of the head; the Kaffir wears a round ring of hair; the North American Indian regards it as a point of honour to leave one tuft, in case he ever has the misfortune of being defeated, for it would be mean to cheat his victor of the scalp, the recognised emblem of conquest.

The Islanders of Torres Straits twist their hair into long pipe-like ringlets, and also wear a kind of wig prepared in the same fashion. Sometimes they shave the head, leaving a transverse crest of hair. At Cape York the hair is almost always kept short.[1] In Tanna the women wear it short, but have it all laid out in a forest of little erect curls, about an inch and a half long. The men wear it twelve and eighteen inches long, and have it divided into some six or seven hundred little locks or tresses. Beginning at the roots, every one of these is carefully wound round by the thin rind of a creeping plant, giving it the appearance of a piece of twine. The ends are left exposed for about two inches, and oiled and curled.[2]

The Fijians give a great deal of time and attention to their hair, as is shown in Pl. II. Most of the chiefs have a special hairdresser, to whom they sometimes devote several hours a day. Their heads of hair are often more than three feet in circumference, and Mr.

[1] M'Gillivray's Voyage of the 'Rattlesnake,' pp. 11, 13.

[2] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 77.

FIJEJEEAN MODES OF DRESSING THE HAIR.

Williams measured one which was nearly five feet round. This forces them to sleep on narrow wooden pillows or neck-rests, which must be very uncomfortable. They also dye the hair. Black is the natural and favourite colour, but some prefer white, flaxen, or bright red.

'On one head,' says Mr. Williams,[1] 'all the hair is 'of a uniform height; but one-third in front is ashy or 'sandy, and the rest black, a sharply defined separation 'dividing the two colours. Not a few are so ingeniously 'grotesque as to appear as if done purposely to excite 'laughter. One has a large knot of fiery hair on his 'crown, all the rest of his head being bald. Another 'has the most of his hair cut away, leaving three or four 'rows of small clusters, as if his head were planted with 'small paint-brushes. A third has his head bare except 'where a large patch projects over each temple. One, 'two, or three cords of twisted hair often fall from the 'right temple, a foot or eighteen inches long. Some 'men wear a number of these braids, so as to form a 'curtain at the back of the neck, reaching from one ear 'to the other. A mode that requires great care has 'the hair brought into distinct locks radiating from the 'head. Each lock is a perfect cone about seven inches 'long, having the base outwards; so that the surface of 'the hair is marked out into a great number of small 'circles, the ends being turned in in each lock, towards 'the centre of the cone.'[2] In some of the Pacific Islands the natives wear wigs, or tresses of hair, in addition to their own.[3]

[1] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 158.

[2] See, for many further particulars, Darwin's Descent of Man, p. 338, *et seq.*

[3] Hale's United States Expl. Expedition: Ethnography, p. 12.

Schweinfurth describes a dandy, belonging to the Dinkas, a negro tribe of the Soudan, whose hair was dyed red, and trained up into points like tongues of flame, standing stiffly up, all round his head.

In fact, the passion for self-ornamentation seems to prevail among the lowest as much as, if not more than, among the more civilised races of man.

CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP.

NOTHING, perhaps, gives a more instructive insight into the true condition of savages than their ideas on the subject of relationship and marriage; nor can the great advantages of civilisation be more conclusively proved than by the improvement which it has already effected in the relation between the two sexes.

Marriage, and the relationship of a child to its father and mother, seem to us so natural and obvious, that we are apt to look on them as aboriginal and general to the human race. This, however, is very far from being the case. The lowest races have no institution of marriage; true love is almost unknown among them; and marriage, in its lowest phases, is by no means a matter of affection and companionship.

The Hottentots, says Kolben,[1] 'are so cold and in-'different to one another that you would think there 'was no such thing as love between them.' Among the Koussa Kaffirs, Lichtenstein asserts that there is 'no 'feeling of love in marriage.'[2] In North America, the Tinné Indians had no word for 'dear' or 'beloved;' and the Algonquin language is stated to have contained no verb meaning 'to love;' so that when the Bible was

[1] Kolben's Hist. of the Cape of Good Hope, vol. i. p. 162.

[2] Travels in South Africa, vol. i. p. 261.

translated by the missionaries into that language it was necessary to invent a word for the purpose.

'In his native state,' says Mr. Morgan,[1] 'the (North 'American) Indian is below the passion of love. It is 'entirely unknown among them, with the exception, to 'a limited extent, of the village Indians.' He mentions elsewhere a case of an Ahahuelin woman named 'Ethabe,' who had been married for three years to a Blackfoot Indian, yet there was no common articulate language which they both understood. They communicated entirely by signs, neither of them having taken the trouble to learn the other's language.[2]

Though the songs of savages are generally devoted to the chase, war, or women, they can very rarely be called love songs. Dr. Mitchell, for instance, who was for several years chairman of the United States Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, mentions that 'neither 'among the Osages nor the Cherokees could there be 'found a single poetical or musical sentiment, founded 'on the tender passion between the sexes. Though 'often asked, they produced no songs of love.'[3]

In Yariba (Central Africa),[4] says Lander, 'marriage 'is celebrated by the natives as unconcernedly as pos-'sible: a man thinks as little of taking a wife as of 'cutting an ear of corn—affection is altogether out of 'the question.' The King of Boussa,[5] he tells us in another place, 'when he is not engaged in public affairs, 'usually employs all his leisure hours in superintending

[1] Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, p. 207.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 227.

[3] Archæol. Americana, vol. i. p. 317.

[4] R. and J. Lander's Niger Expedition, vol. i. p. 161.

[5] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 106. See also p. 197.

'the occupations of his household, and making his own 'clothes. The Midiki (queen) and he have distinct 'establishments, divided fortunes, and separate inte- 'rests; indeed, they appear to have nothing in com- 'mon with each other, and yet we have never seen so 'friendly a couple since leaving our native country.' On the Gold Coast, 'not even the appearance of 'affection exists between husband and wife.'[1] Among the Mandingoes marriage is merely a form of regulated slavery. Husband and wife 'never laugh or joke to- 'gether.' 'I asked Baba,' says Caillié, 'why he did not 'sometimes make merry with his wives. He replied 'that if he did he should not be able to manage them, 'for they would laugh at him when he ordered them to 'do anything.'[2]

According to Galton, Dammara women 'divorce 'themselves as often as they like; . . . in fact, the 'spouse was changed almost weekly, and I seldom knew, 'without inquiry, who the *pro tempore* husband of each 'lady was at any particular time.'[3]

In India, the Hill tribes of Chittagong, says Captain Lewin, regard marriage 'as a mere animal and con- 'venient connection;' as the 'means of getting their 'dinner cooked. They have no idea of tenderness, nor 'of chivalrous devotion.'[4]

Among the Samoyedes[5] of Siberia the husbands show little affection for their wives, and, according to Pallas, 'daignent à peine leur dire une parole de 'douceur.' Further East, in the Aleutian Islands, the

[1] Burton's Mission to the King of Dahomey, vol. ii. p. 190.

[2] Travels, vol. i. p. 350.

[3] Tropical South Africa, p. 197.

[4] Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 116.

[5] Pallas's Voyages, vol. iv. p. 94.

marriages, according to Müller,[1] 'méritent à peine le 'nom ;' and the facts he mentions go far to justify this statement.

Among the Guyacurus of Paraguay 'the bonds of 'matrimony are so very slight, that when the parties do 'not like each other they separate without any further 'ceremony. In other respects they do not appear to 'have the most distant notions of that bashfulness so 'natural to the rest of mankind.'[2] The Guaranis seem to have been in a very similar condition.[3] In North America the marriage tie was by no means regarded as of a religious character.[4]

In Australia 'little real affection exists between 'husbands and wives : and young men value a wife 'principally for her services as a slave ; in fact, when 'asked why they are anxious to obtain wives, their 'usual reply is, that they may get wood, water, and 'food for them, and carry whatever property they 'possess.'[5]

The position of women in Australia seems indeed to be wretched in the extreme. They are treated with the utmost brutality, beaten and speared in the limbs on the most trivial provocation. Few women, says Eyre, 'will be found, upon examination, to be free 'from frightful scars upon the head, or the marks of 'spear wounds about the body. I have seen a young 'woman who, from the number of these marks, appeared 'to have been almost riddled with spear wounds. If

[1] Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Empire de Russie, part iii. p. 129.

[2] Charlevoix, Hist. of Paraguay, vol. i. p. 91.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 352. See also Azara, vol. ii. p. 60.

[4] Jones, Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 67.

[5] Eyre's Discoveries, vol. ii. p. 321. See notes.

'at all good-looking, their position is, if possible, even 'worse than otherwise.'

Again, our family system, which regards a child as equally related to his father and his mother, seems so natural that we experience a feeling of surprise on meeting with any other system. Yet we shall find, I think, reason for concluding that a man was first regarded as merely related to his tribe; then to his mother but not to his father; then to his father and not to his mother; and only at last to both father and mother. Even among the Romans the family was originally based, not on marriage or on relationship, but on power;[1] 'le lien seul,' says Ortolan, 'de la 'parenté naturelle, de la parenté de sang, n'est rien chez les 'Romains;' and a man's wife and children only formed a part of his family, not because they were his relatives, but because they were subject to his control; so that a son who was emancipated—that is to say, made free—had no share in the inheritance, having ceased to belong to the family. In fact, the word, 'family' is said to be derived from an Osque word, 'famul,' a slave.

The fact is, we require a new word for a sort of relationship which we do not ourselves recognise. Savages who have the custom of descent through females do not recognise the family of the father as belonging to the same gens. In one sense they are not relations. They have no right of inheritance, nor does a very near connection (from our point of view) interpose any barrier to marriage. On the other hand,

[1] Ortolan's Expl. Hist. des Instituts de l'Emp. Justinien, vol. i. pp. 126, 128, 130, 416.

of course no one would assert that they recognised no bond of union between father and son.

They have, in fact, three distinct bonds of union :—

1. The tribe ;

2. The gens ; and

3. That actual connection which exists between father and son, even though they are not regarded as belonging to the same gens or family.

We shall, however, be better able to understand this part of the question when we have considered the various phases which marriage presents ; for it is by no means of a uniform character, but takes several very distinct forms. In some cases nothing of the sort appears to exist at all ; in others it is essentially temporary, and exists only till the birth of the child, when both man and woman are free to mate themselves afresh. In others, the man buys the woman, who becomes as much his property as his horse or his dog.

The Romans had two forms of marriage. One was created by a religious ceremony, 'confarreatio.' In this case the wife at once came under the 'manus' of her husband, and her position was technically almost exactly that of a slave or a child. In the second form of marriage, that by sale, the wife was so closely assimilated to property that the full rights of possession could not be acquired until the usual period of prescription had passed. A title by prescription could only be acquired by a year's continued possession. Accordingly it became quite usual for the wife to return three days every year to her father's house, the result of which was that she never came under the 'manus' of her husband. She then remained a member of her father's family, and

the husband acquired no legal power over her. Her status in the two cases was therefore quite different.

In Sumatra there were formerly three perfectly distinct kinds of marriage: the 'Jugur,' in which the man purchased the woman; the 'Ambel-anak,' in which the woman purchased the man; and the 'Semando,' in which they joined on terms of equality. In the mode of marriage by Ambel-anak, says Marsden,[1] 'the father of 'a virgin makes a choice of some young man for her 'husband, generally from an inferior family, which re- 'nounces all further right to, or interest in, him; and 'he is taken into the house of his father-in-law, who 'kills a buffalo on the occasion, and receives twenty 'dollars from his son's relations. After this, the buruk 'baik' nia (the good and bad of him) is invested in the 'wife's family. If he murders or robs, they pay the 'bañgun, or fine. If he is murdered, they receive the 'bañgun. They are liable to any debts he may con- 'tract in marriage; those prior to it remaining with 'his parents. He lives in the family, in a state between 'that of a son and a debtor. He partakes as a son of 'what the house affords, but has no property in himself. 'His rice plantation, the produce of his pepper garden, 'with everything that he can gain or earn, belongs 'to the family. He is liable to be divorced at their 'pleasure, and though he has children, must leave all, 'and return naked as he came.'

In the Jugur marriage the woman became the property of the man.

'The Semando[2] is a regular treaty between the 'parties, on the footing of equality. The adat paid to

[1] Marsden's Hist. of Sumatra, p. 262.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 263.

'the girl's friends has usually been twelve dollars. 'The agreement stipulates that all effects, gains, or 'earnings are to be equally the property of both; and, 'in case of divorce by mutual consent, the stock, debts, 'and credits are to be equally divided. If the man 'only insists on the divorce, he gives the woman her 'half of the effects, and loses the twelve dollars he has 'paid. If the woman only claims the divorce, she 'forfeits her right to the proportion of the effects, but 'is entitled to keep her tikar, bantal, and dandan (para-'phernalia), and her relations are liable to pay back the 'twelve dollars; but it is seldom demanded.'

These three forms of marriage, co-existing in Sumatra, represent, as we shall see, three stages passed through successively by various other races.

In Ceylon there were two kinds of marriage—the Deega marriage, and the Beena marriage. In the former the woman went to her husband's hut; in the latter the man transferred himself to that of the woman. Moreover, according to Davy, marriages in Ceylon were provisional for the first fortnight, at the expiration of which period they were either annulled or confirmed.[1]

Again, in various parts of Africa we find two kinds of marriage existing together. In Guinea, besides the ordinary wives, a man often buys some slave whom he consecrates to his Bossum or God. The Bossum wife then becomes his in an exceptional sense. She is sacrificed at her husband's death, she ranks next to the head wife, and shares his religion.

The Hassaniych Arabs have a very curious form of marriage, which may be called 'three-quarter' mar-

[1] Davy's Ceylon, p. 286.

riage ; that is to say, the woman is legally married for three days out of four, remaining perfectly free for the fourth.

In Australia the tribes are divided into clans, and a man may not marry a woman of the same clan. On the other hand, the men are regarded as by birth husbands of all the women whom they can legally marry. Besides this, however, a man has, or may have, an individual wife, generally acquired by capture.

Among the Romans, as shown by the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and as already mentioned, there were in reality two kinds of marriage, and, as Ortolan says, 'il 'faut se bien garder de confondre entre eux le mariage '(nuptiæ, justæ nuptiæ, justum matrimonium) et la 'puissance maritale (manus).'[1] The latter required the performance of ceremonies, which were unnecessary for the former.

Among the Karoks, marriage is strictly a matter of purchase : when a young man has paid the price of his bride, she becomes his property ; on the other hand, if he cannot provide the whole sum he is sometimes allowed to pay a portion, and become what is called 'half-'married.' In that case, instead of bringing her to his cabin, and making her his slave, he goes to hers and becomes subject to her, or rather to her father. Azara tells us that among the Guanas careful stipulations were made as to the duties and obligations the bride undertook with reference to her husband : how far she was bound to provide him food, whether she was to procure the necessary firewood, whether she was to be the sole wife, whether she was to be free to marry another man

[1] Ortolan's Expl. Hist. des Inst. de l'Emp. Justinien, p. 127.

also, and in that case how much of her time the first husband wished to engage.

In Japan, among the higher classes, it is said that the eldest son brings his bride to the paternal home ; but, on the other hand, the eldest daughter does the same, and retains her name, which is assumed by the bridegroom. Thus the wife of an eldest son joins her husband's family ; but, on the other hand, the husband of an eldest daughter enters into that of his wife. Among the Romans, though 'coemptio,' or purchase, was one of the recognised forms of marriage, it would seem that originally this merely gave possession, and a woman who belonged to any man by coemptio might otherwise be married to another.[1] Hence the eldest son of one family cannot marry the eldest daughter of another. As regards the younger children, if the husband's father provides the house, the wife takes her husband's name ; while, if the bride's father does so, the bridegroom assumes that of his wife.[2]

Among the Reddies[3] of Southern India a very singular custom prevails :—'A young woman of sixteen 'or twenty years of age may be married to a boy of five 'or six years ! She, however, lives with some other 'adult male—perhaps a maternal uncle or cousin—but 'is not allowed to form a connection with the father's 'relatives ; occasionally it may be the boy-husband's 'father himself—that is, the woman's father-in-law ! 'Should there be children from these liaisons, they are 'fathered on the boy-husband. When the boy grows

[1] Fustal de Coulonges, La Cité Antique, p. 376.

[2] Morgan's System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, p. 428.

[3] Shortt, Trans. Ethn. Soc., New Series, vol. vii. p. 194.

'up, the wife is either old or past child-bearing, when 'he in his turn takes up with some other "boy's" wife 'in a manner precisely similar to his own, and procreates 'children for the boy-husband.'

Polyandry, or the marriage of one woman to several men at once, is more common than is generally supposed, though much less so than polygamy, which is almost universally permitted among the lower races of men. One reason—though I do not say the only one—for this, is obvious when pointed out. Long after our children are weaned, milk remains an important and necessary part of their food. We supply this want with cow's milk; but among people who have no domesticated animals this cannot, of course, be done, and consequently the children are not weaned until they are two, three, or even four years old, during all which period the husband and wife generally remain apart. Thus, in Fiji, 'the relatives of a woman take it as a public 'insult if any child should be born before the customary 'three or four years have elapsed, and they consider 'themselves in duty bound to avenge it in an equally 'public manner.'[1]

It seems to us natural and proper that husband and wife should enjoy as much as possible the society of one another. But this view is by no means universal. On the contrary, among the Turkomans, according to Fraser, for six months or a year, or even sometimes two years, after a marriage, the husband was only allowed to visit his wife by stealth. 'After the wed-'ding,' says Burnes, 'the bride returns to the house of 'her parents, and passes a year in preparing the carpets

[1] Seemann, A Mission to Fiji, p. 191.

'and clothes, which are necessary for a Toorkmun tent; 'and on the anniversary of her elopement she is finally 'transferred to the arms and house of her gallant lover.'[1]

Among the Samoyedes the bride and bridegroom are kept apart for a month after their marriage,[2] and Klemm states that the same is the case among the Circassians until the first child is born. Martius mentions the existence of a similar custom among some of the Brazilian tribes.[3] Among the Fijians, husbands and wives do not usually spend the night together, except as it were by stealth. It is quite contrary to Fijian ideas of delicacy that they should sleep under the same roof. A man spends his day with his family, but absents himself on the approach of night.[4] In Chittagong (India), although, 'according to European ideas, 'the standard of morality among the Kyoungtha is low,' yet husband and wife are on no account permitted to sleep together until seven days after marriage.[5]

Burckhardt[6] states that in Arabia, after the wedding, if it can be called so, the bride returns to her mother's tent, but again runs away in the evening, and repeats these flights several times, till she finally returns to her tent. She does not go to live in her husband's tent for some months, perhaps not even till a full year, from the wedding-day. Among the Votyaks, some weeks after the wedding the bride returns to her father's tent, and lives there for two or three months, sometimes even for

[1] Burnes' Travels in Bokhara, vol. ii. p. 56. See also Vambéry's Travels in Central Asia, p. 323.

[2] Pallas, vol. iii. p. 79.

[3] Jour. Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. ii. p. 198.

[4] Seemann's Mission to Viti, p. 191.

[5] Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 51.

[6] Burckhardt's Notes, vol. ii. p. 269, quoted in M'Lennan's Primitive Marriage, p. 302.

a year, during which time she dresses and behaves like a girl, and after which she returns to her husband; making, however, even on the second occasion, a show of resistance.[1]

Lafitau informs us that among the North American Indians the husband only visits the wife as it were by stealth:—'Ils n'osent aller dans les cabanes particulières, 'où habitent leurs épouses, que durant l'obscurité de la 'nuit; . . . ce serait une action extraordinaire de s'y 'présenter le jour.'[2]

In Futa, one of the West African kingdoms, it is said that no husband is allowed to see his wife's face until he has been three years married.

In Sparta, and in Crete, according to Xenophon and Strabo, it was the custom that married people for some time after the wedding only saw one another as it were clandestinely; and a similar custom is said to have existed among the Lycians. So far as I am aware, no satisfactory explanation of this custom has yet been given. I shall, however, presently venture to suggest one.

There are many cases in which savages have no such thing as any ceremony in marriage. 'I have said nothing,' says Metz, 'about the marriage ceremonies of the Bada-'gas (Hindostan), because they can scarcely be said to 'have any.' The Kurumbas, another tribe of the Neil-gherry Hills, 'have no marriage ceremony.'[3] According to Colonel Dalton,[4] the Kerials of Central India 'have 'no word for marriage in their own language, and the

[1] Müller's Des. de toutes les Nations de l'Emp. de Russie, part ii. p. 71.

[2] *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 576.

[3] Trans. Ethn. Soc. vol. vii. p. 276.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 25.

only ceremony used appears to be little more than a sort 'of public recognition of the fact.' It is very singular, he adds elsewhere, 'that of the many intelligent observers 'who have visited and written on Butan not one has 'been able to tell us that they have such an institution 'as a marriage ceremony.' The tie between man and woman seems to be very slight, and to be a mere matter of servitude. 'From my own observation,' he continues, 'I believe the Butias to be utterly indifferent on the 'subject of the honour of their women.'[1] So also the Spanish missionaries found no word for marriage, nor any marriage ceremony, among the Indians of California.[2] Farther north, among the Kutchin Indians, 'there is no ceremony observed at marriage or birth.'[3] The same is the case among the Aleutians,[4] and several other North Pacific tribes.

The marital rite, says Schoolcraft, 'among our tribes' (i.e. the Redskins of the United States) 'is no-'thing more than the personal consent of the parties, 'without requiring any concurrent act of a priesthood, a 'magistracy or witnesses; the act is assumed by the par-'ties, without the necessity of any extraneous sanction.'[5]

According to Brett, there is no marriage ceremony among the Arawaks of South America.[6] Martius makes the same assertion with reference to the Brazilians generally,[7] and it is also the case with some of the Australian tribes.[8]

[1] Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 97.

[2] Bagaert, Smithsonian Report, 1863, p. 368. Bancroft, vol. i. p. 565.

[3] Smithsonian Report, 1866, p. 326.

[4] Bancroft, vol. i. pp. 92, 277.

[5] Indian Tribes, pp. 248, 132.

[6] Guiana, p. 101.

[7] *Loc. cit.* p. 51.

[8] Eyre's Discoveries, vol. ii. p. 319.

There is, says Bruce, 'no such thing as marriage in 'Abyssinia, unless that which is contracted by mutual 'consent, without other form, subsisting only till dis- 'solved by dissent of one or other, and to be renewed 'or repeated as often as it is agreeable to both parties, 'who, when they please, live together again as man and 'wife, after having been divorced, had children by others, 'or whether they have been married, or had children 'with others or not. I remember to have once been at 'Koscam in presence of the Iteghe (the queen), when, 'in the circle, there was a woman of great quality, and 'seven men who had all been her husbands, none of 'whom was the happy spouse at that time.'[1] Among the Bedouin Arabs there is a marriage ceremony in the case of a girl, but the re-marriage of a widow is not thought sufficiently important to deserve one. Speke says, 'there are no such things as marriages in 'Uganda.'[2]

Of the Mandingoes (West Africa), Caillié[3] says that husband and wife are not united by any ceremony; and Hutton[4] makes the same statement as regards the Ashantees. In Congo and Angola[5] 'they use no peculiar 'ceremonies in marriage, nor scarce trouble themselves 'for consent of friends.' Le Vaillant says that there are no marriage ceremonies among the Hottentots;[6] and the Bushmen, according to Mr. Wood, had in their language no means of distinguishing an unmarried from a married girl.[7]

[1] Bruce's Travels, vol. iv. p. 487.

[2] Journal, p. 361.

[3] *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 350.

[4] Klemm, Cultur d. Menschen, vol. iii. p. 280.

[5] Astley's Coll. of Voyages, vol. iii. pp. 221, 227.

[6] Voyages, vol. ii. p. 58.

[7] Natural History of Man, vol. i. p. 269.

In Northern Asia the Tunguses are said to have no marriage ceremony.

Yet we must not assume that marriage is necessarily and always lightly regarded where it is unaccompanied by ceremonial.

There is a great distinction between what may be called 'lax' and 'brittle' marriages. In some countries the marriage tie may be broken with the greatest ease, and yet, as long as it lasts, is strictly respected; while in other countries the very reverse is the case.

Perhaps on the whole any marriage ceremony is better than none at all, but some races have practices at marriage which are extremely objectionable. Some, also, are very curious, and no doubt symbolical. At Bonabe, one of the Micronesian Pacific Islands, the wife is tattooed with the marks standing for the names of her husband's ancestors.[1] One portion of the marriage ceremony among the Mundaris, one of the Bengal Hill tribes, is very suggestive. The bride walks in front of the bridegroom with a pitcher of water on her head, supported by one arm. The bridegroom walks behind, and through the pretty loophole thus formed he shoots an arrow. The girl walks on to where the arrow falls, picks it up with her foot, takes it into her hand, and respectfully returns it to her husband.[2] In many parts of India, bride and bridegroom are marked with one another's blood, probably to signify the intimate union which has taken place between them. This is the custom, for instance, among the Birhors. Colonel Dalton believes this to be 'the origin of the custom now so

[1] Hale's United States Explor. Exped.: Ethnography, p. 76.

[2] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 195.

'universal of marking with red lead.'[1] In other cases the idea symbolised is less obvious. Among some of the Hindoo tribes the bride and bridegroom are respectively married to trees in the first instance, and subsequently to one another. Thus a Kurmi bridegroom is married to a mango, his bride to a malwa tree.[2] The idea underlying this I take to be that they are thus devoted to the deities of the Mango and Malwa, and, having thus become respectively tabooed to other men and women, are, with the consent of the deities, espoused to one another.

In ancient Russia, as part of the marriage ceremony, the father took a new whip, and after striking his daughter gently with it told her that he did so for the last time, and now presented the whip to the bridegroom, to whose power she then passed.[3]

Among the Canadian Indians, Carver[4] says that, when the chief has pronounced the pair to be married, 'the bridegroom turns round, and, bending his body, 'takes his wife on his back, in which manner he carries 'her, amidst the acclamations of the spectators, to his 'tent.' The Western tribes regard it as an important part of the marriage ceremony that the bride should be carried to her husband's dwelling.[5] In Mexico also the husband took the bride on his back and carried her a short distance.[6] Bruce, in Abyssinia, observed an identical custom. When the ceremony is over, he says, 'the bridegroom takes his lady on his shoulders, and 'carries her off to his house. If it be at a distance he

[1] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, pp. 220, 319.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 319.

[3] Meiners, Vergl. des alt. und neuer. Russlands, vol. ii. p. 167.

[4] Travels, p. 374.

[5] Bancroft, vol. i. pp. 411, 703, 730.

[6] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 261.

'does the same thing, but only goes entirely round about 'the bride's house.'[1]

In China, when the bridal procession reaches the bridegroom's house, the bride is carried into the house by a matron, and 'lifted over a pan of charcoal at the 'door.'[2]

We shall presently see that these are no isolated cases, nor is the act of lifting the bride over the bridegroom's threshold an act without a meaning. I shall shortly mention many allied customs, to the importance and significance of which our attention has recently been called by M'Lennan, in his masterly work on 'Primitive Marriage.'

I will now attempt to trace up the custom of marriage in its gradual development. There is strong evidence that the lowest races of men live, or did live, in a state of what may perhaps be called 'Communal Marriage.' In many of the cases above given (pp. 70–75) there can hardly be said to be any true marriage in our sense of the term, and many other instances might be given. In the Andaman Islands,[3] Sir Edward Belcher states that the custom is for the man and woman to remain together until the child is weaned, when they separate as a matter of course, and each seeks a new partner; but Mr. Man did not find this to be the custom among the families he visited. The Bushmen of South Africa are stated to be entirely without marriage. Among the Nairs (India), as Buchanan tells us, 'no one knows his father, and every man looks 'on his sister's children as his heirs.' They may be

[1] Vol. vii. p. 67.
[2] Davis, The Chinese, vol. i. p. 285.
[3] Trans. Ethn. Soc. vol. v. p. 45.

said to have group marriages. A man may marry several women, and a woman may be the wife of several men. The Teehurs of Oude 'live together almost in-'discriminately in large communities, and even when 'two people are regarded as married the tie is but 'nominal.'[1]

In China, communal marriage is stated to have prevailed down to the time of Fouhi,[2] in Egypt to that of Menes, and in Greece to that of Cecrops. The Massagetæ,[3] and the Auses,[4] an Ethiopian tribe, had, according to Herodotus, no marriage—a statement which is confirmed by Strabo as regards the former. Strabo and Solinus made the same statement as regards the Garamantes, another Ethiopian tribe, and Ammianus Marcellinus with reference to certain Arabian tribes. In California, according to Baegert,[5] the sexes met without any formalities, and their vocabulary did not even contain the words 'to marry.' Garcilasso de la Vega asserts that among some of the Peruvian tribes, before the time of the Incas, men had no special wives.[6]

Mr. Hyde, Principal of the North Pacific Missionary Institute, to whom I am indebted for various valuable suggestions, writes me that among the Pacific Islanders there was an 'utter absence of what we mean by the 'family, the household, and the husband; the only 'thing possible was to keep distinct the line through

[1] The People of India, by J. F. Watson and J. W. Kaye, published by the Indian Government, vol. ii. pl. 85.

[2] Goguet, L'Origine des Lois, des Arts, et des Sciences, vol. iii. p. 328.

[3] Clio, vol. i. p. 216.

[4] Melpomene, vol. iv. p. 180.

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 368.

[6] Commentaries of the Incas, trans. by C. R. Markham, vol. ii. p. 443.

'the mother, and enumerate the successive generations 'with the several putative fathers.' The original Hawaian word for 'to marry' meant 'to try,' and the missionaries have been attempting to replace this by our word 'mare' under a native form.

Speaking of the natives of Queen Charlotte Island, Mr. Poole says,[1] 'among these simple and primitive 'tribes the institution of marriage is altogether un-'known.' The women appear to consider almost all the men of their own clan in the light of husbands. They are, on the contrary, very circumspect in their behaviour with other men.

According to native legends, communal marriage existed in ancient times among the natives of Australia. Messrs. Fison and Howitt state that the South Australian tribes[2] are divided into two classes or clans, Kumite and Kroki, the feminine equivalents of which are Kumitegor and Krokigor, and every Kumite is theoretically the husband of every Krokigor, every Kroki being in the same way the husband of every Kumitegor. It is not asserted that marital rights are in full force at the present day, but they exist and are still acknowledged to a certain extent. So again the Kamilaroi tribes, near Sydney, are divided into four great clans,[3] in which the males are known as Ippai, Murri, Kubbi, and Kumbo; the females, Ippata, Matha, Kapota, and Butha.

'I. Ipai may marry only Kubitha.

'II. Murri may marry only Butha.

[1] Queen Charlotte Islands, p. 312.

[2] See Fison and Howitt, The Kamilaroi and Kŭrnai, p. 50.

[3] Pritchard's Nat. Hist. of Man, vol. ii. p. 491. Ridley's Journ. Anthr. Inst. 1872, p. 263. Lang's Queensland, p. 383.

'III. Kubi may marry only Ipatha.

'IV. Kumbu may marry only Matha.

'Any attempt to infringe these rules would be 'unanimously resisted, even to bloodshed; but it 'seems they never dream of attempting to transgress 'them.'

Even if a man has captured a woman in war, he may not marry her if she belongs to a forbidden class.

'I. The children of Ipai by Kubitha are all Muri.

'II. The children of Muri are all Ippai and Ippata.

'III. The children of Kubi are all Kumbu and 'Butha.

'IV. The children of Kumbu are all Kubi and 'Kubitha.'

But Mr. Lance first pointed out, and he has since been fully confirmed by subsequent writers, that in a certain sense every Ipai is regarded as married, not by any individual contract, but by organic law, to every Kubitha; every Kubi to every Ipatha, and so on. If, for instance, a Kubi, says Mr. Lance, 'meet a stranger 'Ipatha, they address each other as spouse. A Kubi 'thus meeting an Ipatha, though she were of another 'tribe, would treat her as his wife, and his right to do 'so would be recognised by her tribe.'[1] The idea of marriage in Australia, say Messrs. Fison and Howitt,[2] 'is something more than the marriage of group to 'group, *within a tribe*. It is an arrangement, extending 'across a continent, which divides many scattered—'widely scattered—tribes into intermarrying classes, 'and gives a man of one class marital rights over

[1] Quoted by Fison and Howitt, *loc. cit.* p. 53.

[2] The Kamilaroi and Kŭrnai, p. 54.

'women of another class in a tribe a thousand miles 'away, and speaking a language other than his own.' It would appear, however, that this right is now dying out, and is in most cases merely nominal.

Mr. Bulmer, an English missionary in Australia, not understanding their customs, and wishing to make friends with the natives, allowed himself to be adopted with native ceremonials so as to become the brother of a young native of whom he had formed a high opinion. Next time he met the young man's wife he said to her: 'You know you are my sister now. I am your hus- 'band's brother.' 'Oh, no,' she said, laughing heartily; 'you are now my husband.' And he found he had most unintentionally married her, according to native ideas, and every other woman of her name!

The backwardness (until lately) of the Sandwich Islanders in their social relations is manifested in their language. This is shown from the following table extracted from a longer one, given by Mr. Morgan in a most interesting work on the Origin of the Classification System of Relationship.[1]

Havaian	*English*
Kupuna signifies	Great grandfather
	Great great uncle
	Great grandmother
	Great grandaunt
	Grandfather
	Granduncle
	Grandmother
	Grandaunt.

[1] Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity.

Hawaian		*English*
Makua kana	=	Father Father's brother Father's brother-in-law Mother's brother Mother's brother-in-law Grandfather's brother's son.
Makua waheena	=	Mother Mother's sister Mother's sister-in-law Father's sister Father's sister-in-law.
Kaikee kana	=	Son Sister's son Brother's son Brother's son's son Brother's daughter's son Sister's son's son Sister's daughter's son Mother's sister's son's son Mother's brother's son's son.
Hunona	=	Brother's son's wife Brother's daughter's husband Sister's son's wife Sister's daughter's husband.
Waheena	=	Wife Wife's sister Brother's wife Wife's brother's wife Father's brother's son's wife Father's sister's son's wife Mother's sister's son's wife Mother's brother's son's wife.

Hawaian		*English*
Kana	=	Husband Husband's brother Sister's husband.
Punalua	=	Wife's sister's husband (brother-in-law).
Kaikoaka	=	Wife's brother.

The key of this Hawaian or Sandwich Island [1] system is the idea conveyed in the word waheena (woman). Thus—

Hawaian		*English*
Waheena	=	Wife Wife's sister Brother's wife Wife's brother's wife.

All these are equally related to each husband. Hence the word—

Kaikee = Child, also signifies brother's wife's child;

and no doubt the wife's sister's child, and the wife's brother's wife's child. So also, as the sister is wife to the brother-in-law (though not to her brother), and as the brother-in-law is husband to his brother's wife, he is consequently a father to his brother's children. Hence 'Kaikee' also means 'sister's son' and 'brother's son.' In fact 'Kaikee' and 'Waheena' correspond to our words 'child' and 'woman,' and there are apparently no words answering to 'son,' 'daughter,' 'wife,' or 'husband.' That this does not arise from poverty of

[1] Morgan, Proceedings of the American Association, 1868.

language is evident, because the same system discriminates between other relationships which we do not distinguish.

Perhaps the contrast is most clearly shown in the terms for brother-in-law and sister-in-law.

Thus, when a woman is speaking—

Sister-in-law = husband's brother's wife = punalua.
Sister-in-law = husband's sister = kaikoaka.
But brother-in-law, whether sister's husband or husband's brother } = kana, i.e. husband.

When, on the contrary, a man is speaking—

Sister-in-law = wife's sister = waheena, i.e. wife.
Sister-in-law = brother's wife = waheena, i.e. wife.

And so—

Brother-in-law = wife's brother = kaikoaka.
Brother-in-law = wife's sister's husband = punalua.

Thus a woman has husbands and sisters-in-law, but no brothers-in-law ; a man, on the contrary, has wives and brothers-in-law, but no sisters-in-law. The same idea runs through all other relationships : cousins, for instance, are called brothers and sisters.

So again, while the Romans distinguished between the

Father's brother = patruus, and the mother's brother = avunculus ;
Father's sister = amita, and the mother's sister = matertera ;

the first two in Hawaian are makua kana, which also signifies father ; and the last two are makua waheena, which also means mother.

In the next chapter I shall enter more at length into the subject of Relationships, but my object at present is to show that the idea of Marriage does not, in fact, enter into the Hawaian system. Uncleship, auntship, cousinship, are ignored; and we have only—

Grandparents
Parents
Brothers and sisters
Children, and
Grandchildren.

This division into generations was no matter of mere nomenclature; but, lax as their ideas appear to us in many ways, Mr. Gill, the well-known missionary in the South Seas, tells me that in the Henry group marriage out of one's generation was strictly forbidden; even when as a mere matter of age it might be quite suitable.

Here, moreover, it is clear that the child is related to the group. It is not specially related either to its father or its mother, who stand in the same relation as uncles and aunts; so that every child has several fathers and several mothers.

There are, I think, reasons in the social habits of these islanders which go far to explain the persistence of this archaic nomenclature. From the mildness of the climate and the abundance of food, children soon become independent; the prevalence of large houses, used as mere dormitories, and the curious prejudice against eating in common, must also have greatly tended to retard the development of special family feelings. Yet the system of nomenclature above mentioned did not

correspond with the actual state of society as found by Captain Cook and other early voyagers.

Among the Todas of the Neilgherry Hills, however, when a man marries a girl she becomes the wife of all his brothers as they successively reach manhood, and they also become the husbands of all her sisters as they become old enough to marry. In this case 'the first-'born child is fathered upon the eldest brother, the 'next-born on the second, and so on throughout the 'series. Notwithstanding this unnatural system, the 'Todas, it must be confessed, exhibit much fondness 'and attachment towards their offspring, more so than 'their practice of mixed intercourse would seem to 'foster.'[1]

In the Tottiyars of India, also, we have a case in which it is recorded that 'brothers, uncles, and 'nephews hold their wives in common.'[2] So also, according to Nicolaus,[3] the Galactophagi had communal marriage, 'where they called all old men fathers, 'young men sons, and those of equal age brothers.' 'Among the Sioux and some other North American 'tribes the custom is to buy the eldest of the chief's 'daughters; then the others all belong to him, and are 'taken to wife at such times as the husband sees fit.'[4]

Such social conditions as these tend to explain the frequency of adoption among the lower races of men, and the fact that it is often considered to be as close a connection as real parentage. Among the Esquimaux, Captain Lyon tells us that 'this curious connection

[1] Shortt, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vii p. 240.

[2] Dubois' Descrip. of the People of India, p. 3.

[3] Bachofen, Das Mutterrecht, p. 21.

[4] Ethn. Journal, 1869, p. 286.

'binds the parties as firmly together as the ties of 'blood ; and an adopted son, if senior to one by nature, 'is the heir to all the family riches.'[1]

In Central Africa, Denham states that 'the practice 'of adopting children is very prevalent among the 'Felatahs, and, though they have sons and daughters of 'their own, the adopted child generally becomes heir 'to the whole property.'[2] In Madagascar[3] also 'the 'adoption of other children, generally those of relatives, 'is of frequent occurrence. These children are regarded 'in every respect as if they were born of their adopted 'parents, and their real father and mother give up all 'claim to them.'

'It is a custom,' says Mariner,[4] 'in the Tonga 'Islands, for women to be what they call mothers to 'children or grown-up young persons who are not their 'own, for the purpose of providing them, or seeing that 'they are provided, with all the conveniences of life ;' this is often done even if the natural mother be still living, in which case the adopted mother 'is regarded 'the same as the natural mother.' The same custom also existed in Samoa,[5] the Marquesas, and other Pacific Islands.[6] Among the Romans, also, adoption was an important feature, and was effected by the symbol of a mock birth, without which it was not regarded as complete. This custom seems to have continued down to the time of Nerva, who, in adopting Trajan, transferred

[1] Journal, p. 353. See 365.

[2] Denham's Travels in Africa, vol. iv. p. 131.

[3] Sibree's Madagascar and its People, p. 197.

[4] Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 98.

[5] Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 179.

[6] Gerland, Waitz' Anthropologie, vol. vi. p. 216.

the ceremony from the marriage-bed to the temple of Jupiter.[1] Diodorus[2] gives a very curious account of the same custom as it existed among the Greeks, mentioning that Juno adopted Hercules by going through a ceremony of mock birth. To this day, in some Continental codes, adoption gives the right of inheritance.[3]

In other cases the symbol of adoption represented not the birth, but the milk, tie. Thus, in Circassia, the woman offered her breast to the person she was adopting. In Abyssinia, Parkyn tells us that 'if a man 'wishes to be adopted as the son of one of superior 'station or influence, he takes his hand, and, sucking 'one of his fingers, declares himself to be his "child by '"adoption," and his new father is bound to assist him 'as far as he can.'[4]

Among some races marriage between foster children is strictly forbidden.

The same idea of adoption underlies, perhaps, the curious Esquimaux habit of licking anything which is presented to them, apparently in token of ownership.[5] Dieffenbach[6] also mentions the practice of licking a present in New Zealand; here, however, it is the donor who does so. In the Tonga Islands, Captain Cook tells us that the natives 'have a singular custom of putting 'everything you give them to their heads, by way of 'thanks, as we conjectured.'[7] Labillardière observed the same practice in Tasmania.[8]

[1] Müller, Das Mutterrecht, p. 254.
[2] IV. 39. See Notes.
[3] Maine, Early Law and Custom, p. 96.
[4] Parkyn's Abyssinia, p. 198.
[5] Franklin's Journeys, 1819–22, vol. i. p. 34.
[6] New Zealand, vol. ii. p. 104.
[7] Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 221.
[8] Gerland, Waitz' Anthropologie, vol. vi. p. 812.

Assuming, then, that the communal marriage system shown in the preceding pages to prevail, or have prevailed, so widely among races in a low stage of civilisation, represents the primitive and earliest social condition of man, we now come to consider the various ways in which it may have been broken up and replaced by individual marriage.

Montesquieu lays it down almost as an axiom, that 'l'obligation naturelle qu'a le père de nourrir ses 'enfants a fait établir le mariage, qui déclare celui qui 'doit remplir cette obligation.'[1] Elsewhere he states that 'il est arrivé dans tous les pays et dans tous les 'temps que la religion s'est mêlée des mariages.'[2] How far these assertions are from the truth will be conclusively shown in the following pages.

Bachofen,[3] M'Lennan,[4] and Morgan, the most recent authors who have studied this subject, all agree that the primitive condition of man, socially, was one in which marriage did not exist,[5] or, as we may perhaps for convenience call it, of communal marriage, where all the men and women in a small community were regarded as equally married to one another.

Bachofen considers that after a while the women, shocked and scandalised by such a state of things, revolted against it, and established a system of marriage with female supremacy, the husband being subject to the wife, property and descent being considered to go in the female line, and women enjoying the principal share of political power. The first period he calls that

[1] Esprit des Lois, vol. ii. p. 186.
[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 299.
[3] Das Mutterrecht.
[4] Primitive Marriage.
[5] *Ibid.* xviii. xix.

of 'Hetairism,' the second of 'Mutterrecht,' or 'mother-'right.'

In the third stage he considers that the ethereal influence of the father prevailed over the more material idea of motherhood. Men claimed pre-eminence, property and descent were traced in the male line, sun worship superseded moon worship, and many other changes in social organisation took place—mainly because it came to be recognised that the creative influence of the father was more important than the material tie of motherhood. The father, in fact, was the author of life, the mother a mere nurse.

Thus he regards the first stage as lawless, the second as material, the third as spiritual. I believe, however, that communities in which women have exercised the supreme power are rare and exceptional, if indeed they ever existed at all. We do not find in history, as a matter of fact, that women do assert their rights, and savage women would, I think, be peculiarly unlikely to uphold their dignity in the manner supposed. On the contrary, among the lowest races of men, as, for instance, in Australia, the position of the women is one of complete subjection ; and it seems to me perfectly clear that the idea of marriage is founded on the rights, not of the woman, but of the man, being an illustration of

> the good old plan,
> That he should take who has the power,
> And he should keep who can.

Among low races the wife is indeed literally the property of her husband. As Petruchio says of Catherine—

> I will be master of what is mine own.
> She is my goods, my chattels; she is my house,
> My household stuff, my field, my barn,
> My horse, my ox, my ass, my anything.

So thoroughly is this the case, that a Roman's 'family' originally, and indeed throughout classical times, meant his slaves, and the children only formed part of the family because they were his slaves; so that if a father freed his son, the latter ceased to be one of the family, and had no part in the inheritance.

'The mere tie of blood relationship,' says Ortolan, 'was of no account among the Romans. . . . . The 'most general expression and the most comprehensive 'term indicating relationship in Roman Law is *cognatio* '—the cognation, that is to say, the tie between persons 'who are united by the same blood, or those reputed by 'the law as such (*cognati; quasi una communiter nati*). 'But cognation alone, whether it proceeds from legal 'marriage or any other union, does not place the indi-'vidual within the family, nor does it give any right of 'family.'[1] Even at the present day, in some parts of Africa, a man's property goes, not to his children, as such, but to his slaves.

Among the West African tribes of the Gold Coast, under ordinary circumstances the wife was the slave of her husband, purchased of her father by the dowry, but if 'the wife be a woman of free status, who contracts 'a free union with her husband, not only are her children 'not his slaves, but neither she nor they become mem-'bers of his family.'[2]

[1] Ortolan's History of Roman Law, tr. by Prichard and Nasmith, p. 129.

[2] Foreign Office Despatch, Aug. 21, 1874.

The fact that the wife is regarded literally as the property of the husband explains those cases which seem to us so remarkable, in which great laxity of conduct before, is combined with the utmost strictness after, marriage. Hence, also, the custom, so prevalent among the lower races of men, that on the death of the elder brother the wives belong to the second.

This complete subjection of the woman in marriage also explains those cases in which women of rank were considered too great to marry. Livingstone distinctly states this in the case of Mamochisáne, daughter of Sebituane, chief of the Bechuanas. Sebituane 'could 'not look upon the husband except as the woman's 'lord, so he told her all the men were hers, she might 'take any one, but ought to keep none.'[1]

Hearne tells us, that among the Hudson's Bay Indians 'it has ever been the custom for the men to 'wrestle for any woman to whom they are attached; 'and, of course, the strongest party always carries off 'the prize. A weak man, unless he be a good hunter 'and well-beloved, is seldom permitted to keep a wife 'that a stronger man thinks worth his notice. . . . 'This custom prevails throughout all their tribes, and 'causes a great spirit of emulation among their youth, 'who are upon all occasions, from their childhood, trying 'their strength and skill in wrestling.'[2] Franklin also says that the Copper Indians hold women in the same low estimation as the Chipewyans do, 'looking upon 'them as a kind of property, which the stronger may

[1] Travels in South Africa, p. 179. See also Burton's Dahomey, vol. i. pp. 107, 366; vol. ii. p. 72. Tuckey's Exp. to the River Zaire, p. 140.

[2] Hearne, p. 104.

'take from the weaker;'[1] and Richardson[2] 'more than 'once saw a stronger man assert his right to take the 'wife of a weaker countryman. Anyone may challenge 'another to wrestle, and, if he overcomes, may carry off 'the wife as the prize.' Yet the women never dream of protesting against this, which, indeed, seems to them perfectly natural. The theory, therefore, of Dr. Bachofen, and the sequence of social customs suggested by him, although supported with much learning, cannot, I think, be regarded as correct.[3]

M'Lennan, like Bachofen and Morgan, starts with a stage of Hetairism or communal marriage. The next stage was, in his opinion, that form of polyandry in which brothers had their wives in common; afterwards came that of the *levirate*, i.e. the system under which, when an elder brother died, his second brother married the widow, and so on with the others in succession. Thence he considers that some tribes branched off into endogamy, others into exogamy;[4] that is to say, some forbade marriage out of, others within, the tribe. If either of these two systems was older than the other, he considers that exogamy must have been the more ancient. Exogamy was based on infanticide,[5] and led to the practice of marriage by capture.[6]

In a further stage the idea of female descent, producing as it would a division in the tribe, obviated the necessity of capture as a reality and reduced it to a symbol.

[1] Journey to the Shores of the Polar Seas, vol. viii. p. 43.

[2] Richardson's Boat Journey, vol. ii. p. 24.

[3] See, for instance, Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, pp. 47, 77, 80, 93, 98, 101.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 145.

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 138.

[6] *Loc. cit.* p. 140.

In support of this view, Mr. M'Lennan has certainly brought forward many striking facts ; but, while admitting that it probably represents the succession of events in some cases, I cannot but think that these are exceptional. Exogamy is in fact often associated with polygamy, which under Mr. M'Lennan's system could not well be.

Fully admitting the prevalence of infanticide among savages, it will, I think, be found that among the lowest races boys were killed as frequently as girls. Eyre expressly states that this was the case in Australia.[1] In fact, the distinction between the sexes implies an amount of forethought and prudence which the lower races of men do not possess.

For reasons to be given in the next chapter, I believe that communal marriage was gradually superseded by individual marriage founded on capture, and that this led firstly to exogamy and then to female infanticide ; thus reversing M'Lennan's order of sequence. Endogamy and regulated polyandry, though frequent, I regard as exceptional, and as not entering into the normal progress of development.

[1] Discoveries, &c., vol. ii. p. 324.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ORIGIN OF MARRIAGE.

THE evidence given in the preceding chapter, and which might have been much increased, seems to me to prove, and indeed it is now admitted by most of those who have studied the subject, that there was a time when individual marriage did not exist, and when mankind lived in a state of what I have suggested we might call communal marriage.

The curious Australian marriage laws, under which marriage between members of the same clan is strictly forbidden, but on the other hand every man is legally and technically the husband of every woman belonging to some one or more other clans, have been already mentioned on p. 90.

It has been supposed by some that an extension of these restrictions might gradually lead up to individual marriage, but this is not so, because a development of the Australian rules would always result in the marriage, not of individuals, but of classes—however much the class might be reduced by subdivision, the wives would remain in common within the gens.

Such arrangements may be, and in some tribes no doubt are, the nearest approach to what we call marriage, but a husband in this sense is very different from a husband in ours. He has not the exclusive right to a particular woman, which is in our idea the essence of

matrimony, and the existence of which is just what we have to account for.[1] Speaking generally, however, we find in Australia, side by side with these class marriages, the presence also of individual marriage. Though the same word has been generally used in both cases, it is evident that the relationship is really very different.

'In the following pages,' say Messrs. Fison and Howitt,[2] 'the words marriage, husband, wife, and indeed 'all the terms of kinship, are used in a certain accom-'modated sense. Husband and wife are not neces-'sarily man and wife according to our ideas. "My '"husband," for instance, among tribes such as the Aus-'tralian, does not necessarily single out any one man in 'particular. A woman may apply it to any one of a 'group of tribal brothers who have the right of taking 'her to wife.'

The question then is, How did individual marriage take its origin?

The theory I have ventured to suggest as regards the former question is, that originally no man could appropriate any woman of his own tribe exclusively to himself, nor could any woman dedicate herself to one man, without infringing tribal rights; but that, on the other hand, if a man captured a woman belonging to another tribe he thereby acquired an individual and peculiar right to her, and she became his exclusively, no one else having any claim or property in her. Thus, then, the women in such a community would fall into two classes: The one, subject no doubt to the disadvantage of being aliens, and so to say slaves, but yet

[1] See Lubbock on Australian Marriage Customs, J. Anthr. Inst. 1885.

[2] The Kamilaroi and Kŭrnai, p. 28.

enjoying the protection, and in many cases having secured the affection, of one man. The other, nominally no doubt free, but in the first place subject to the attentions of all their tribesmen—attentions no doubt often very unwelcome, but yet which could not be rejected without giving bitter offence; and in the second without any claim on any one specially for food, shelter, and protection.

It seems to me that under such circumstances many women belonging to the latter class would long to exchange their nominal freedom, and hazardous privileges, for the comparative peace and security of the former. On the other hand, many men would desire to appropriate exclusively to themselves some woman of their own tribe by whom they were specially attracted. Hence would naturally arise a desire on the part of many to extend the right of capture, which originally had reference only to women of a different tribe, and to apply it to all those belonging to their own.

As a matter of fact, we find in Australia, side by side with the division of the tribes into classes or 'gentes' and the custom that all the men are regarded as possessing marital rights over all the women of some one, or more, of the other classes, the existence also of individual marriage; one man and one woman especially connected together as in more civilised communities. The words husband and wife have been usually applied to both of these cases. At the same time, whether we apply the same word in both relationships or not, we must not lose sight of the fact that the two are very different.[1]

[1] It would be convenient, I think, to use some such term as the New Zealand 'noa,' in the former case, and to say, for instance, that a woman was 'noa' to a particular gens or gentes, and wife to a particular man.

and it is this latter or true marriage to which my suggestion refers.

It must not, however, be considered that the right to take any woman belonging to another class was originally a concession. The true process was in the reverse order, and the forbidding to take a woman of the man's own class must be regarded as a restriction. There are not wanting traditions of a time when this restriction did not exist. But, however this may be, we have complete and conclusive evidence that in large portions of Australia every man had the privilege of a husband over every woman not belonging to his own gens; sharing of course those privileges with every other man belonging to the same class or gens as himself.

But although we may call this 'marriage'—and it is a right which in old times was, and to a certain extent still is, recognised as perfectly legal and respectable—it does not help us to the origin of individual marriage.

In addition to the 1,000 miles of wives so forcibly described by Messrs. Fison and Howitt, the Australian had his own individual wife. How does he acquire a special right to her? I have argued that this was originally by right of capture; Messrs. Fison and Howitt deny this. But let us see what they say themselves a few pages further on. In describing the habits of the Kŭrnai they come to his marriage. How does he procure his wife? 'The young Kŭrnai,' says Mr. Fison,[1] 'could, as a rule, acquire a wife in one way 'only. He must run away with her. . . . It is no 'use his asking for a wife excepting under the most

[1] Kamilaroi and Kŭrnai, p. 200.

'exceptional circumstances, for he could only acquire 'one in the usual manner, and that was by running off 'with her.'

As regards the Geawe-gal tribe, they say, 'In the 'case of female captives, they belonged to their captors, 'if of a class from which wives might be legally taken 'by them. If of a forbidden class, then I think that 'the captor might make an exchange with some one of 'the proper class who had a woman at his disposal. 'In the Wonghi tribe, whose territory was situated on 'the north side of the Lachlan River, for about eighty 'miles above Whealbah, a woman was the property of 'her captor when she was not of a tribe forbidden to 'him,' i.e. if she did not belong to a gens with which it was unlawful for him to intermarry.

Speaking of the Turras, another Australian tribe, they say, 'There is individual marriage. Consent of 'the woman's parents is necessary before marriage; if 'this is refused, the pair occasionally elope. Wives are 'also obtained by gift, exchange, or capture. A female 'captive belonged to the captor.' Again, the Kamilaroi have 'the right to the female captive, controlled by the 'exogamous rule of marriage.' Indeed, speaking generally, they observe, 'that marriage is brought about 'throughout Australia by capture is quite certain.'

It is obvious, indeed, that even under a communal marriage, a warrior who had captured a beautiful girl in some marauding expedition would claim a peculiar right to her, and, when possible, would set custom at defiance. We have already seen that there are other cases of the existence of marriage under two forms side by side in one country; and there is, therefore, no real

difficulty in assuming the co-existence of communal and individual marriage. It is true that under a communal marriage system no man could appropriate a girl entirely to himself without infringing the rights of the whole tribe. Such an act would naturally be looked on with jealousy, and only regarded as justifiable under peculiar circumstances. A war-captive, however, was in a peculiar position: the tribe had no right to her; her capturer might have killed her if he chose; if he preferred to keep her alive he was at liberty to do so; he did as he liked, and the tribe was no sufferer. On the other hand, if a marriage system had already existed, it is unlikely that the first wives would have suffered a mere captive to obtain the same station as themselves.[1]

M'Lennan,[2] indeed, says that 'it is impossible to 'believe that the mere lawlessness of savages should be 'consecrated into a legal symbol, or to assign a reason '—could this be believed—why a similar symbol should 'not appear in transferences of other kinds of property.' The symbol of capture, however, was not one of lawlessness, but, on the other hand, of—according to the ideas of the times—lawful possession. It did not refer to those from whom the captive was taken, but was intended to bar the rights of the tribes into which she was introduced. Individual marriage was, in fact, an infringement of communal rights; the man retaining to himself, or the man and woman mutually appropriating to each other, that which previously belonged to

[1] I am glad to find that Mr. H. Spencer, in his Principles of Sociology, p. 650 et seq., endorses this view, though he does not altogether accept my suggestions as to communal marriage, or as to the rights of men within the tribe.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 44.

the whole tribe. Thus, among the Andamaners, any woman who attempted to resist the marital privileges claimed by any member of the tribe was liable to severe punishment.[1]

Nor is it, I think, difficult to understand why the symbol of capture does not appear in transferences of other kinds of property. Every generation requires fresh wives; the actual capture, or at any rate the symbol, needed therefore repetition. This, however, does not apply to land; when once the idea of landed property arose, the same land descended from owner to owner. In other kinds of property, again, there is an important, though different kind of, distinction. A man made his own bow and arrows, his own hut, his own arms; hence the necessity of capture did not exist, and the symbol would not arise.

M'Lennan supposed that savages were driven by female infanticide, and the consequent absence or paucity of women, into exogamy and marriage by capture. He considered that the 'practice of capturing women 'for wives could not have become systematic unless it 'were developed and sustained by some rule of law or 'custom,' and 'that the rule of law or custom which 'had this effect was exogamy.'[2]

I shall presently give my reasons for rejecting this explanation. He also considers that marriage by capture followed, and arose from, that remarkable custom of marrying always out of the tribe, for which he has proposed the appropriate name of exogamy. On the contrary, I believe that exogamy arose from marriage by

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. ii. p. 35.

[2] I take this from the article in the Fortnightly for June 1877.

capture, not marriage by capture from exogamy ; that capture, and capture almost alone, could originally give a man the right to monopolise a woman, to the exclusion of his fellow-clansmen ; and that hence, even after all necessity for actual capture had long ceased, the symbol remained ; capture having, by long habit, come to be received as a necessary preliminary to marriage.

That marriage by capture has not arisen from female modesty is, I think, evident not only because we have no reason to suppose that such a feeling prevails specially among the lower races of man, but also, firstly, because it cannot explain the mock resistance of the relatives ; and, secondly, because the very question to be solved is why it became so generally the custom to win the female not by persuasion but by force.

M'Lennan's view throws no light on the remarkable ceremonies of expiation for marriage, to which I shall presently call attention. I will, however, first proceed to show how widely 'capture,' either actual or symbolical, enters into the idea of marriage. M'Lennan was, I believe, the first to appreciate its importance. I have taken some of the following instances from his valuable work, with, however, much additional evidence.

It requires, no doubt, strong evidence, which, however, exists in abundance, to satisfy us that the origin of marriage was independent of all sacred and social considerations ; that it had nothing to do with mutual affection or sympathy ; that it was invalidated by any appearance of consent ; and that it was symbolised, not by any demonstration of warm affection on the one side and tender devotion on the other, but by brutal violence and unwilling submission.

Yet, as already mentioned, the evidence is overwhelming. So completely, for instance, did the Caribs supply themselves with wives from the neighbouring races, and so little communication did they hold with them, that the men and women actually spoke different languages. So, again, in Australia the men, says Oldfield, 'are in excess of the other sex, and, consequently, 'many men of every tribe are unprovided with that 'especial necessary to their comfortable subsistence, a 'wife—who is a slave in the strictest sense of the word, 'being a beast of burden, a provider of food, and a 'ready object on which to vent those passions that the 'men do not dare to vent on each other. Hence, for 'those coveting such a luxury, arises the necessity of 'stealing the women of some other tribe; and, in their 'expeditions to effect so laudable a design, they will 'cheerfully undergo privations and dangers equal to 'those they incur when in search of blood-revenge. 'When, on such an errand, they discover an unprotected 'female, their proceedings are not of the most gentle 'nature. Stunning her by a blow from the dowak (to 'make her love them, perhaps), they drag her by the 'hair to the nearest thicket to await her recovery. 'When she comes to her senses they force her to 'accompany them; and, as at worst it is but the exchange of one brutal lord for another, she generally 'enters into the spirit of the affair, and takes as much 'pains to escape as though it were a matter of her own 'free choice.'[1]

Collins thus describes the manner in which the natives about Sydney used to procure wives:—'The poor

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc., vol. iii. p. 250.

'wretch is stolen upon in the absence of her protectors. 'Being first stupefied with blows, inflicted with clubs 'or wooden swords, on the head, back, and shoulders, 'every one of which is followed by a stream of blood, 'she is then dragged through the woods by one arm, 'with a perseverance and violence that it might be sup- 'posed would displace it from its socket. This outrage 'is not resented by the relations of the female, who 'only retaliate by a similar outrage when they find an 'opportunity.'[1]

Marriage by capture is the third form of marriage specially recognised by ancient Hindoo law.[2]

In Bali also,[3] one of the islands between Java and New Guinea, it is stated to be the practice that girls 'are stolen away by their brutal lovers, who sometimes 'surprise them alone, or overpower them by the way, 'and carry them off with dishevelled hair and tattered 'garments to the woods. When brought back from 'thence, and reconciliation is effected with enraged 'friends, the poor female becomes the slave of her 'rough lover, by a certain compensation-price being paid 'to her relatives.'

So deeply rooted is the feeling of a connection between force and marriage that we find the former used as a form long after all necessity for it had ceased; and it is very interesting to trace, as Mr. M'Lennan has done, the gradual stages through which a stern reality softens down into a mere symbol.

It is easy to see that if we assume the case of a

[1] Collins's English Colony in New South Wales, p. 362.

[2] Bühler's Sacred Books of the Aryas, p. 127.

[3] Notices of the Indian Archipelago, p. 90.

country in which there are four neighbouring tribes, who have the custom of exogamy, and who trace pedigrees through the mother, and not through the father —a custom which, as we shall presently find, is so common that it may be said to be the usual one among the lower races—after a certain time the result would be that each tribe would consist of four septs or clans, representing the four original tribes, and hence we should find communities in which each tribe is divided into clans, and a man must always marry a woman of a different clan. But as communities became larger and more civilised the actual 'capture' would become inconvenient, and at last impossible.

Gradually, therefore, it came to be more and more a mock ceremony, forming, however, a necessary part of the marriage ceremony. Of this many cases might be given.

Speaking of the Khonds of Orissa, Major-General Campbell says that on one occasion he 'heard loud cries 'proceeding from a village close at hand. Fearing some 'quarrel, I rode to the spot, and there I saw a man 'bearing away upon his back something enveloped in 'an ample covering of scarlet cloth ; he was surrounded 'by twenty or thirty young fellows, and by them pro-'tected from the desperate attacks made upon him by 'a party of young women. On seeking an explanation 'of this novel scene, I was told that the man had just 'been married, and his precious burden was his bloom-'ing bride, whom he was conveying to his own village. 'Her youthful friends (as it appears is the custom) 'were seeking to regain possession of her, and hurled 'stones and bamboos at the head of the devoted

'bridegroom, until he reached the confines of his own 'village.'[1]

Dalton mentions that among the Kols of Central India, when the price of a girl has been arranged, 'the bridegroom and a large party of his friends 'of both sexes enter with much singing and dancing, 'and *sham fighting* in the village of the bride, where 'they meet the bride's party, and are hospitably enter-'tained.'[2]

Sir W. Elliot also mentions that not only amongst the Khonds, but also in 'several other tribes of Central 'India, the bridegroom seizes his bride by force, either 'affected or real;'[3] and the same was customary among the Badagas of the Neilgherry Hills, the Mundahs, Hos, Garos, Oraons, Ghonds, and other Hill tribes.[4]

Among the Garos a young man and woman who wish to marry take some provisions and retire to the Hills for a few days. The girl goes first, and the lover follows after, well knowing, of course, where she will be found. In a few days they return to the village, when the marriage is publicly announced and solemnised, a mock fight taking place, though in this case the pretended reluctance is on the part of the bridegroom.[5] In this tribe the girls propose to the men, as is also said to be the case among the Bhiuyas.[6]

In parts of the Punjab,[7] 'when the bridegroom's

[1] Quoted in M'Lennan's Primitive Marriage, p. 28.

[2] Trans. Ethn. Soc. vol. vi. p. 24. See also p. 27; the Tribes of India, vol. i. p. 15; and Dalton's Des. Ethnology of Bengal, pp. 64, 86, 193, 252, 278, 319.

[3] Trans. Ethn. Soc. 1869, p. 125.

[4] Metz, The Tribes of the Neilgherries, p. 74. See also Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, pp. 36, 80.

[5] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 64.

[6] *Loc. cit.* p. 142.

[7] Tupper's Punjab Customary Law.

'party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, 'they are met by a party of the bride's friends and rela- 'tions, who stop the path. Hereupon a sham fight of a 'very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom 'and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well 'drubbed with good thick switches.'

M. Bourien[1] thus describes the marriage ceremony among the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula :—'When 'all are assembled, and all ready, the bride and bride- 'groom are led by one of the old men of the tribe 'towards a circle more or less great, according to the 'presumed strength of the intended pair; the girl 'runs round first, and the young man pursues a short 'distance behind; if he succeeds in reaching her and 'retaining her, she becomes his wife; if not, he loses 'all claim to her. At other times, a larger field is 'appointed for the trial, and they pursue one another 'in the forest. The race, according to the words of the 'chronicle, "is not to the swift, nor the battle to the '"strong," but to the young man who has had the good 'fortune to please the intended bride.'

Among the Kalmucks, De Hell tells us that, after the price of the girl has been duly agreed on, when the bridegroom comes with his friends to carry off his bride, 'a sham resistance is always made by the people 'of her camp, in spite of which she fails not to be borne 'away on a richly caparisoned horse, with loud shouts 'and feu de joie.'[2]

Dr. Clarke[3] gives a romantic account of the cere-

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc. 1865, p. 81.

[2] Steppes of the Caspian, p. 259. Quoted in M'Lennan's Primitive Marriage, p. 30.

[3] Travels, vol. i. p. 332. See also Vambéry's Travels in Central Asia, p. 323. Burnes' Travels in Bokhara, pp. 11, 56.

mony. 'The girl,' he says, 'is first mounted, who 'rides off at full speed. Her lover pursues; if he 'overtakes her, she becomes his wife, and the marriage 'is consummated on the spot; after this she returns 'with him to his tent. But it sometimes happens that 'the woman does not wish to marry the person by 'whom she is pursued; in this case, she will not suffer 'him to overtake her. We were assured that no in-'stance occurs of a Kalmuck girl being thus caught, 'unless she have a partiality to the pursuer. If she 'dislikes him, she rides, to use the language of English 'sportsmen, "neck or nought," until she has completely 'effected her escape, or until her pursuer's horse be-'comes exhausted, leaving her at liberty to return, 'and to be afterwards chased by some more favoured 'admirer.'

'Among the Tunguses and Kamchadales,' says Ernan,[1] 'a matrimonial engagement is not definitely 'arranged and concluded until the suitor has got the 'better of his beloved by force, and has torn her 'clothes.' Attacks on women are not allowed to be avenged by blood unless they take place within the yourt or house. The man is not regarded as to blame if the woman 'has ventured to leave her natural place, 'the sacred and protecting hearth.' Pallàs observes that in his time 'marriage by capture prevailed also 'among the Samoyedes.'[2] At present the custom is for the bridegroom to tap the father and the mother of

[1] Travels in Siberia, vol. ii. p. 442. See also Kames' History of Man, vol. ii. p. 58.

[2] Vol. iv. p. 97. See also Astley's Collections of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 575.

the bride on the shoulder with a small stick—the last trace of an ancient reality.[1]

Among the Mongols,[2] when a marriage is arranged, the girl 'flies to some relations to hide herself. The 'bridegroom coming to demand his wife, the father-in-'law says, "My daughter is yours; go, take her wher-'"ever you can find her." Having thus obtained his 'warrant, he, with his friends, runs about searching, 'and, having found her, seizes her as his property, and 'carries her home as it were by force.' Marriage by capture, indeed, prevails throughout Siberia. In Kamskatka, says Müller, 'attraper une fille est leur ex-'pression pour dire marier.'[3]

'In the Korea, when a man marries, he mounts on 'horseback, attended by his friends, and, having ridden 'about the town, stops at the bride's door, where he is 'received by her relations, who then carry her to his 'house, and the ceremony is complete.'[4] Traces of the custom also occur in Japan.[5]

Among the Esquimaux of Cape York (Smith Sound), according to Dr. Hayes,[6] 'there is no marriage cere-'mony further than that the boy is required to carry 'off his bride by main force; for, even among these 'blubber-eating people, the woman only saves her 'modesty by a sham resistance, although she knows 'years beforehand that her destiny is sealed, and that 'she is to become the wife of the man from whose

[1] Seebohm, Siberia in Europe, p. 74.

[2] Astley, vol. iv. p. 77.

[3] Des. de toutes les Nations de l'Empire de Russie, pt. ii. p. 89. See also pt. i. p. 170; pt. iii. pp. 38, 71.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 342.

[5] Le Japon Illustré, vol. ii. p. 130.

[6] Open Polar Sea, p. 432.

'embraces, when the nuptial day comes, she is obliged 'by the inexorable law of public opinion to free herself, 'if possible, by kicking and screaming with might and 'main, until she is safely landed in the hut of her future 'lord, when she gives up the combat very cheerfully 'and takes possession of her new abode.'

In Greenland, according to Egede, 'when a young 'man likes a maiden, he commonly proposes it to their 'parents and relations on both sides; and, after he has 'obtained their consent, he gets two or more old women 'to fetch the bride (and if he is a stout fellow he will 'fetch her himself). They go to the place where the 'young woman is, and carry her away by force.'[1]

We have already seen (p. 101) that marriage by capture exists in full force among the Northern Redskins. Further south in California, 'when an Oleepa 'lover wishes to marry, he first obtains permission from 'the parents. The damsel then flies and conceals her-'self; the lover searches for her, and, should he succeed 'in finding her twice out of three times, she belongs to 'him. Should he be unsuccessful, he waits a few weeks 'and then repeats the performance. If she again elude 'his search, the matter is decided against him.'[2]

Among the Mosquito Indians also, after the wedding is all arranged and the presents paid, the bride is arrayed in her best, and the bridegroom on a given signal rushes in, seizes his bride, and carries her off, followed by her female relatives, who pretend to try to rescue her.[3]

[1] History of Greenland, p. 143. Crantz, Hist. of Greenland, vol. i. p. 158.

[2] Bancroft, Native Races of the Pacific States, p. 389.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 733.

The aborigines of the Amazon Valley, says Wallace,[1] 'have no particular ceremony at their marriages, except 'that of always carrying away the girl by force, or 'making a show of doing so, even when she and her 'parents are quite willing.' M. Bardel, in the notes to D'Urville's Voyage, mentions that among the Indians round Conception, in South America, after a man has agreed on the price of a girl with her parents, he surprises her, and carries her off to the woods for a few days, after which the happy couple return home.[2]

In Tierra del Fuego, as Admiral Fitzroy tells us,[3] as soon 'as a youth is able to maintain a wife by his 'exertions in fishing or bird-catching, he obtains the 'consent of her relations, and . . . . having built or 'stolen a canoe for himself, he watches for an oppor- 'tunity, and carries off his bride. If she is unwilling 'she hides herself in the woods until her admirer is 'heartily tired of looking for her, and gives up the 'pursuit; but this seldom happens.'

Williams mentions that among the Fijians the custom prevails 'of seizing upon a woman by apparent 'or actual force, in order to make her a wife. On 'reaching the home of her abductor, should she not 'approve of the match, she runs to some one who can 'protect her; if, however, she is satisfied, the matter is 'settled forthwith; a feast is given to her friends the 'next morning, and the couple are thenceforward con- 'sidered as man and wife.'[4]

Earle[5] gives the following account of marriage in

[1] Travels in the Amazons, p. 497.
[2] Vol. iii. pp. 277 and 22.
[3] Voyage of the 'Adventure' and 'Beagle,' vol. ii. p. 182.
[4] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 174.
[5] Residence in New Zealand, p. 244.

New Zealand, which he regards as 'most extraordinary,' while in reality it is, as we now see, nothing of the sort :—'The New Zealand method of courtship and 'matrimony is,' he says, 'most extraordinary ; so much 'so that an observer could never imagine any affection 'existed between the parties. A man sees a woman 'whom he fancies he should like for a wife; he asks the 'consent of her father, or, if an orphan, of her nearest 'relation ; which, if he obtains, he carries his "intended" 'off by force, she resisting with all her strength ; and, 'as the New Zealand girls are generally pretty robust, 'sometimes a dreadful struggle takes place; both are 'soon stripped to the skin; and it is sometimes the 'work of hours to remove the fair prize a hundred 'yards. If she breaks away she instantly flies from her 'antagonist, and he has his labour to commence again.'

Even after a marriage, it is customary in New Zealand to have a mock scuffle. Mr. Yate [1] gives a good illustration. There was, he says, 'a little opposition to 'the wedding, but not till it was over, as is always the 'custom here. The bride's mother came to me the 'preceding afternoon, and said she was well pleased in 'her heart that her daughter was going to be married 'to Pahau ; but that she must be angry about it with 'her mouth in the presence of her tribe, lest the natives 'should come and take away all her possessions, and 'destroy her crops. This is customary on all occasions.'

Among the Ahitas of the Philippine Islands, when a man wishes to marry a girl, her parents send her before sunrise into the woods. She has an hour's start, after which the lover goes to seek her. If he finds her

[1] Yate's New Zealand, p. 96.

and brings her back before sunset, the marriage is acknowledged; if not, he must abandon all claim to her.[1] The natives of New Guinea also have a very similar custom.[2]

Among the Kaffirs marriage is an affair of purchase, notwithstanding which 'the bridegroom is required to 'carry off his bride by force, after the preliminaries are 'completed. This is attempted by the help of all the 'friends and relatives that the man can muster, and 'resisted by the friends and relatives of the woman; 'and the contest now and then terminates in the dis-'comfiture of the unlucky husband, who is reduced to 'the necessity of waylaying his wife, when she may 'be alone in the fields or fetching water from the well.'[3]

In the West African kingdom of Futa,[4] after all other preliminaries are arranged, 'one difficulty yet 'remains, viz. how the young man shall get his wife 'home; for the women-cousins and relations take on 'mightily, and guard the door of the house to prevent 'her being carried away. At last, by the bridegroom's 'presents and generosity, their grief is assuaged. He 'then provides a friend, well mounted, to carry her off; 'but as soon as she is on horseback the women renew 'their lamentations, and rush in to dismount her. 'However, the man is generally successful, and rides 'off with his prize to the house prepared for her.'

Gray mentions[5] that a Mandingo (West Africa),

[1] Earl's Native Races of the Indian Archipelago, p. 133.

[2] Gerland's Waitz' Anthropologie, vol. i. p. 633.

[3] Pritchard's Nat. Hist. of Man, ii. 403. See also Arbousset's Tour to the North-east of the Cape of Good Hope, p. 249; and Maclean's Kaffir Laws and Customs, p. 52.

[4] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 240.

[5] Gray's Travels in Western Africa, p. 56.

wishing to marry a young girl at Kayaye, applied to her mother, who 'consented to his obtaining her in any 'way he could. Accordingly, when the poor girl was 'employed in preparing some rice for supper, she was 'seized by her intended husband, assisted by three or 'four of his companions, and carried off by force. She 'made much resistance, by biting, scratching, kick-'ing, and roaring most bitterly. Many, both men and 'women, some of them her own relations, who wit-'nessed the affair, only laughed at the farce, and con-'soled her by saying that she would soon be reconciled 'to her situation.' Evidently therefore this was not, as Gray seems to have supposed, a mere act of lawless violence, but a recognised custom, which called for no interference on the part of spectators. Denham,[1] describing a marriage at Sockna (North Africa), says that the bride is taken on a camel to the bridegroom's house, 'upon which it is necessary for her to appear greatly 'surprised, and refuse to dismount; the women scream, 'the men shout, and she is at length persuaded to 'enter.'

Thompson found a similar custom among the Watuta of Masai Land.

Among the Arabs of Sinai, when a marriage has been arranged, the girl is waylaid by her lover 'and 'a couple of his friends, and carried off by force to his 'father's tent. If she entertains any suspicion of their 'designs, she defends herself with stones, and often 'inflicts wounds on the young men, even though she 'does not dislike the lover.'[2]

[1] *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 39.

[2] Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, vol. i. p. 263. See also pp. 108, 234.

In Circassia weddings are accompanied by a feast, 'in the midst of which the bridegroom has to rush in, 'and, with the help of a few daring young men, carry 'off the lady by force; and by this process she becomes 'the lawful wife.'[1] According to Spencer, another important part of the ceremony consists in the bridegroom drawing his dagger and cutting open the bride's corset.

As regards Europe, Plutarch[2] tells us that in Sparta the bridegroom usually carried off his bride by force, evidently, however, of a friendly character. I would venture to suggest that the character of Helen, as portrayed in the 'Iliad,' can only be understood by regarding her marriage with Paris as a case of marriage by capture.[3] 'Les premiers Romains,' says Ortolan,[4] 'ont été obligés de recourir à la surprise et à la force 'pour enlever leurs premières femmes,' and he points out that long after any actual violence had ceased it was customary to pass a lance over the head of the bride, 'en signe de la puissance que va acquérir le mari.' Hence also, while a man might be married in his absence, this was not the case as regards the woman. A man might capture a bride for his friend, but the woman could not be captured unless really present.[5] In North Friesland, 'a young fellow called the bride-'lifter lifts the bride and her two bridesmaids upon the 'waggon in which the married couple are to travel to 'their home.'[6] M'Lennan states that in some parts of France, down to the seventeenth century, it was cus-

[1] Moser, The Caucasus and its People, p. 31; quoted by M'Lennan, *loc. cit.* p. 36.

[2] See also Herodotus, vi. 65.

[3] See Appendix.

[4] Expl. Hist. des Inst. de l'Emp. Justinien, pp. 81, 82.

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 127.

[6] M'Lennan, *loc. cit.* p. 33.

tomary for the bride to feign reluctance to enter the bridegroom's house.

In Poland, Lithuania, Russia, and parts of Prussia, according to Seignior Gaya,[1] young men used to carry off their sweethearts by force, and then apply to the parents for their consent.

Lord Kames,[2] in his 'Sketches of the History of 'Man,' mentions that the following marriage ceremony was, in his day, or at least had till shortly before, been customary among the Welsh:—'On the morning of 'the wedding-day the bridegroom, accompanied by his 'friends on horseback, demands the bride. Her friends, 'who are likewise on horseback, give a positive refusal, 'on which a mock scuffle ensues. The bride, mounted 'behind her nearest kinsman, is carried off, and is pur-'sued by the bridegroom and his friends, with loud 'shouts. It is not uncommon on such an occasion to 'see 200 or 300 sturdy Cambro-Britons riding at full 'speed, crossing and jostling, to the no small amuse-'ment of the spectators. When they have fatigued 'themselves and their horses, the bridegroom is suffered 'to overtake his bride. He leads her away in triumph, 'and the scene is concluded with feasting and festivity.'

Sir H. Piers says that in Ireland, after a marriage had been arranged, 'on the day of bringing home, the 'bridegroom and his friends ride out and meet the bride 'and her friends at the place of meeting. Being come 'near each other, the custom was of old to cast short 'darts at the company that attended the bride, but at 'such distance that seldom any hurt ensued. Yet it is

[1] Marriage Ceremonies, p. 35. chapter ix.
See also Olaus Magnus, vol. xiv.

[2] History of Man, vol. ii. p. 59.

'not out of the memory of man that the Lord of Hoath 'on such an occasion lost an eye.'[1]

In European Turkey Mr. Tozer tells us that 'the 'Mirdites never intermarry; but when any of them, 'from the highest to the lowest, wants a wife, he carries 'off a Mahometan woman from one of the neighbouring 'tribes, baptizes her, and marries her. The parents, we 'were told, do not usually feel much aggrieved, as it 'is well understood that a sum of money will be paid 'in return.'[2]

To these instances many others might have been added, as for instance the natives of Sumatra, the Mapuches, Bushmen, &c.

In all these cases the girl is carried off by the man; but among the Garos of Bengal we find a similar custom, only that it is the bridegroom who is carried off. He pretends to be unwilling and runs away, but is caught by the friends of the bride, and then taken by force, 'in 'spite of the resistance and counterfeited grief and 'lamentation of his parents, to the bride's house.'[3] So also among the Ahitas of the Philippine Islands, if her parents will not consent to a love match, the girl seizes the young man by the hair of his head, carries him off, and declares she has run away with him. In such a case it appears that marriage is held to be valid, whether the parents consent or not.[4]

Thus, then, we see that marriage by capture, either as a stern reality or as an important ceremony, prevails in Australia, among the Malays, in Hindostan, Central

[1] Descr. of Westmeath. Quoted by M'Lennan.

[2] The Highlands of Turkey, vol. i. p. 318.

[3] Bonwick, The Tasmanians, p. 71.

[4] Dalton, Descr. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 64.

Asia, Siberia, and Kamskatka; among the Esquimaux, the Northern Redskins, the Aborigines of Brazil, in Chili, and Tierra del Fuego, in the Pacific Islands, both among the Polynesians and the Fijians, in the Philippines, in Tasmania, among the Kaffirs, Arabs, and Negroes, in Circassia, and, until recently, throughout a great part of Europe.

I have already referred to the custom of lifting the bride over the doorstep, which we find in such distinct and distant races as the Romans, the Redskins of Canada, the Chinese, and the Abyssinians. Hence, also, perhaps, our honeymoon, during which the bridegroom keeps his bride away from her relatives and friends; hence even, perhaps, as Mr. M'Lennan supposes, the slipper is, in mock anger, thrown after the departing bride and bridegroom.

The curious custom which forbids the father-in-law and the mother-in-law to speak to their son-in-law, and *vice versâ*, which I have already shown (p. 12) to be very widely distributed, but for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given, seems to be a natural consequence of marriage by capture. When the capture was a reality, the indignation of the parents would also be real; when it became a mere symbol, the parental anger would be symbolised also, and would be continued even after its origin was forgotten.[1] According to statistics collected by Mr. Tylor[2] this avoidance seems to be especially frequent in tribes where the custom is for the husband to live with his wife's relations. At

[1] I am glad to see that Mr. Morgan is disposed to adopt this suggestion. Introd. to Fison and Howitt's Kamilaroi and Kŭrnai, p. 16.

[2] Journ. Anthr. Inst. 1889, p. 24.

first this seemed to me unfavourable to the view which connects it with marriage by capture, but this is, after all, not so. If the theory is that the wife has been captured, and yet the husband lives with the wife's relations, the natural way of marking the fact would be that the relations would show their displeasure.

The separation of husband and wife, to which also I have referred (p. 72), may also arise from the same custom. It is very remarkable, indeed, how persistent are all customs and ceremonies connected with marriage. Thus our 'bride cake,' which so invariably accompanies a wedding, and *which must always be cut by the bride*, may be traced back to the old Roman form of marriage by 'confarreatio,' or eating together. So also among the Iroquois, bride and bridegroom used to partake together of a cake of 'sagamité,'[1] which the bride offered to her husband. The Fiji Islanders[2] have a very similar custom. The marriage ceremony in Samoa, says Turner, 'reminds us of the Roman confarreatio.'[3] 'Confarreatio' also exists among the Karens and Burmese.[4] Again, among the Tipperahs, one of the Hill tribes of Chittagong, the bride prepares some drink, 'sits on her lover's knee, drinks half, and gives him the 'other half; they afterwards crook together their little 'fingers.'[5] In one form or another a similar custom is found among most of the Hill tribes of India. Among the Ghiliaks (North East Asia) the definitive part of the marriage ceremony consists in the bride and bridegroom

[1] Lafitau, vol. i. pp. 566, 571.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 170.

[3] Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 186.

[4] M'Mahon, The Karens of the G. Chersonese, pp. 322, 350.

[5] Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, pp. 71, 80. Dalton's Descr. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 193.

drinking out of the same cup. A very similar custom occurs in New Guinea ;[1] among the Samoyedes, and in Madagascar also, part of the marriage ceremony consists in the bride and bridegroom eating out of one dish.[2] The German word 'vermählen' points to the same idea.

Among the Chuckmas (a tribe residing among the Chittagong hills) the bride and bridegroom are bound together with a muslin scarf, and then eat together.[3]

Here also I must mention the curious custom of boy-marriages, under which a girl is legally married to a mere boy, who is regarded as the father of her children, while she herself lives with someone else, generally the father of her nominal husband. This arrangement is found among some of the Caucasian tribes, in parts of Russia, among the Reddies in South India, and the Chibchas of New Granada. It has not, I think, been satisfactorily explained.

Mr. M'Lennan conceives that marriage by capture arose from the custom of exogamy, that is to say, from the custom which forbade marriage within the tribe. Exogamy, again, he considers to have arisen from the practice of female infanticide. I have already indicated the reasons which prevent me from accepting this explanation, and which induce me to regard exogamy as arising from marriage by capture, not marriage by capture from exogamy. Mr. M'Lennan's theory seems to me quite inconsistent with the existence of tribes which have marriage by capture and yet are endogamous.

[1] Gerland's Con. of Waitz' Anthrop., vol. vi. p. 633.

[2] Sibree's Madagascar and its People, p. 193.

[3] Lewin, Wild Tribes of South-eastern India, p. 177.

The Bedouins, for instance, have marriage by capture, and yet the man has a recognised right to marry his cousin, if only he be willing to give the price demanded for her.[1]

Mr. M'Lennan, indeed, feels the difficulty which would be presented by such cases, the existence of which he seems, however, to doubt; adding, that if the symbol of capture be ever found in the marriage ceremonies of an endogamous tribe, we may be sure that it is a relic of an early time at which the tribe was organised on another principle than that of exogamy.[2] Another objection to his theory is the presence of marriage by capture with polygamy.

That marriage by capture has not arisen merely from female coyness is, I think, evident, as already mentioned; firstly, because it does not account for the resistance of the relatives; secondly, because it is contrary to all experience that feminine delicacy diminishes with civilisation; and thirdly, because the very question to be solved is why it has become so generally the custom to win the wife by force rather than by persuasion. It leaves moreover entirely unexplained the case mentioned on p. 126, in which the man, not the bride, is captured.

The explanation which I have suggested derives additional probability from the evidence of a general feeling that marriage was an act for which some compensation was due to those whose rights were invaded.

The nature of the ceremonies by which this was effected makes me reluctant to enter into this part of

[1] Klemm, Allgem. Culturg. d. Mensch, vol. iv. p. 146.
[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 53.

the subject at length ; and I will here, therefore, merely indicate in general terms the character of the evidence.

I will firstly refer to certain details given by Dulaure [1] in his chapter on the worship of Venus, of which he regards these customs merely as one illustration, although they have, I cannot but think, a signification deeper than, and different from, that which he attributes to them.

We must remember that the better known savage races have, in most cases, now arrived at the stage in which paternal rights are recognised, and hence that fathers can and do sell their daughters into matrimony. The price of a wife is, of course, regulated by the circumstances of the tribe, and every, or nearly every, industrious young man is enabled to buy one for himself. As long, however, as communal marriage rights were in force this would be almost impossible. That special marriage was an infringement of these communal rights, for which some compensation was due, seems to me the true explanation of the offerings which virgins were so generally compelled to make before being permitted to marry.[2]

The same feeling, probably, gave rise to the curious custom existing, according to Strabo,[3] among the (Parthian) Tapyrians, that when a man had two or three children by one wife, he was obliged to leave her, so that she might marry someone else. There is some reason to suppose that a similar custom once prevailed among the Romans ; thus Cato, who was proverbially austere in his morals, did not think it right permanently

[1] Hist. abrégée des diff. Cultes. [2] See Appendix.
[3] Strabo, ii. pp. 515, 520.

to retain his wife Martia, whom his friend Hortensius wished to marry. This he accordingly permitted, and Martia lived with Hortensius until his death, when she returned to her first husband. The high character of Cato is sufficient proof that he would not have permitted this, if he had regarded it as wrong ; and Plutarch expressly states that the custom of lending wives existed among the Romans. Akin to this feeling is that which induces so many savage tribes [1] to provide their guests with temporary wives. To omit this would be regarded as quite inhospitable. The practice, moreover, seems to recognise the existence of a right inherent in every member of the community, and to visitors as temporary members ; which, in the case of the latter, could not be abrogated by arrangements made before their arrival, and, consequently, without their concurrence. The prevalence of this custom brings home to us forcibly the difference existing between the savage and the civilised modes of regarding the relation of the sexes to one another.

Perhaps the most striking case of all is that afforded by some of the Brazilian tribes. The captives taken by them in war used to be kept for some time and fatted up ; after which they were killed and eaten. Yet even here, during the time that they had to live, each poor wretch was generally provided with a temporary wife.[2]

This view also throws some light on the remarkable subordination of the wife to the husband, which is so

[1] For instance, the Esquimaux, North and South American Indians, Polynesians, Australians, Berbers, Eastern and Western Negroes, Arabs, Abyssinians, Kaffirs, Mongols, Tutski, &c.

[2] Lafitau, Mœurs des Sauv. Amér., vol. ii. p. 294.

characteristic of marriage, and so curiously inconsistent with all our avowed ideas ; moreover, it tends to explain those curious cases in which Hetairæ were held in greater estimation than those women who were, as we should consider, properly and respectably married to a single husband.[1] The former were originally fellow-countrywomen and relations ; the latter captives and slaves. And even when this ceased to be the case, the idea would long survive the circumstances which gave rise to it.[2]

I now pass to the curious custom, for which M'Lennan has proposed the convenient term 'exogamy' —that, namely, of necessarily marrying out of the tribe. Tylor, who also called particular attention to this custom in his interesting work on 'The Early 'History of Man,' which was published in the very same year as M'Lennan's 'Primitive Marriage,' thought that 'the evils of marrying near relatives might be the 'main ground of this series of restrictions.' Morgan[3] also considers exogamy as 'explainable, and only ex-'plainable, as a reformatory movement to break up the 'intermarriage of blood relations,' and which could only be effected by exogamy, because all in the tribe were regarded as related. We cannot, however, attribute to savages any such farsighted ideas. Moreover, in fact, exogamy afforded little protection against the marriage of relatives, and, wherever it was systematised, it permitted marriage even between half brothers and sisters, either on the father's or mother's side. Where an ob-

[1] Bachofen, Das Mutterrecht, pp. xix. 125. Burton's Lake Regions of Africa, vol. i. p. 198.

[2] See Appendix.

[3] Proc. Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, 1866.

jection to the intermarriage of relatives existed, exogamy was unnecessary ; where it did not exist, exogamy, if this view was correct, could not arise.

M'Lennan says, 'I believe this restriction on mar-'riage to be connected with the practice in early times 'of female infanticide, which, rendering women scarce, 'led at once to polyandry within the tribe, and the cap-'turing of women from without.'[1] He has not alluded to the natural preponderance of men over women. Thus, throughout Europe, the proportion of boys to girls is as 106 to 100.[2] Here, therefore, even without infanticide, we see that there is no exact balance between the sexes. In many savage races, in various parts of the world, it has been observed the men are much more numerous, but it is difficult to ascertain how far this is due to an original difference, and how far to other causes. Moreover, many of the races which are endogamous in one sense, as not marrying out of the tribe, are yet exogamous in the true sense, as not marrying within the 'gens.'

It is conceivable that the difference between endogamous and exogamous tribes may have been due to the different proportion of the sexes : those races tending to become exogamous where boys prevail ; those, on the other hand, endogamous where the reverse is the case.[3] I am not, however, aware that we have any statistics which enable us to determine this point, nor do I believe that it is the true explanation of the custom.

Infanticide is, no doubt, very prevalent among

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 138. [2] Waitz' Anthropology, p. 111.
[3] See Das Mutterrecht, p. 109.

savages. As long, indeed, as men were few in number, enemies were scarce and game was tame. Under these circumstances, there was no temptation to infanticide. There were some things which women could do better than men—some occupations which pride and laziness, or both, induced them to leave to the women. As soon, however, as in any country population became even slightly more dense, neighbours became a nuisance. They invaded the hunting grounds, and disturbed the game. Hence, if for no other reason, wars would arise. Once begun, they would break out again and again, under one pretence or another. Men for slaves, women for wives, and the thirst for glory, made a weak tribe always a temptation to a strong one. Under these circumstances, female children became a source of weakness in several ways. They ate, and did not hunt. They weakened their mothers when young, and, when grown-up, were a temptation to surrounding tribes. Hence female infanticide is easily accounted for. Yet I cannot regard it as the true cause of exogamy. It does not appear to have been so general as Mr. M'Lennan supposes, nor does it specially characterise the very lowest races.

I cannot, then, regard as satisfactory any of the explanations which have hitherto been proposed to account for the origin of exogamy. The true solution is, I think, of a different character. We must remember that under the communal system the women of the tribe were all common property. No one could appropriate one of them to himself without infringing on the general rights of the tribe. Women taken in war were, on the contrary, in a different position. The

tribe, as a tribe, had no right to them, and men surely would reserve to themselves exclusively their own prizes. These captives, then, would naturally become the wives in our sense of the term. Several causes would tend to increase the importance of the separate, and decrease that of communal, marriage. The impulse which it would give to, and receive back from, the development of the affections; the convenience with reference to domestic arrangements; the natural wishes of the wife herself; and, last not least, the inferior energy of the children sprung from 'in and in' marriages, would all tend to increase the importance of individual marriage.

Even were there no other cause, the advantage of crossing, so well known to breeders of stock, would soon give a marked preponderance to those races by whom exogamy was largely practised, and for several reasons, therefore, we need not be surprised to find exogamy very prevalent among the lower races of man. When this state of things had gone on for some time, usage, as M'Lennan well observes, would 'establish a 'prejudice among the tribes observing it—a prejudice 'strong as a principle of religion, as every prejudice 'relating to marriage is apt to be—against marrying 'women of their stock.'[1]

We should not, perhaps, have *a priori* expected to find among savages any such remarkable restriction, yet it is very widely distributed; and from this point of view we can, I think, clearly see how it arose.

In Australia, where the same family names are common almost over the whole continent, no man may

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 140.

marry a woman whose family name is the same as his own, and who belongs therefore to the same tribe.[1] 'No man,' says Mr. Lang, 'can marry a woman of 'the same clan, though the parties be no way related 'according to our ideas.'[2]

In addition to the Australian cases already mentioned (*ante*, p. 88), the natives of West Australia and Port Lincoln are divided into two great clans, and no man may marry a woman of the same clan.[3] So also in New Britain and the Duke of York group of islands the natives are divided into two classes, and marriage between persons of the same clan is thought very disreputable.[4]

In Eastern Africa, Burton[5] says that 'some clans of 'the Somal will not marry one of the same, or even of 'a consanguineous family;' and the Bakalari have the same rule.[6]

Du Chaillu,[7] speaking of Western Equatorial Africa, says, 'the law of marriages among the tribes I have 'visited is peculiar; each tribe is divided into clans; 'the children in most of the tribes belong to the clan of 'the mother, and these cannot by any possible laws 'marry among themselves, however removed in degree 'they may have been connected: it is considered an 'abomination among them. But there exists no ob-'jection to possessing a father's or brother's wife. I

[1] Eyre's Discoveries in Australia, vol. ii. p. 329. Grey's Journal, p. 242.

[2] The Aborigines of Australia, p. 10. Taplin's The Narinyeri, p. 1.

[3] Forrest, Journ. Anthrop. Institute, vol. v. p. 317.

[4] Brown, quoted in Wallace's Australasia, p. 470.

[5] First Footsteps, p. 120.

[6] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. i. p. 321.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 307.

'could not but be struck with the healthful influence 'of such regulations against blood marriages among 'them.'

In India the Khasias,[1] Juangs,[2] and Waralis are divided into sections, and no man may marry a woman belonging to his own section. In the Magar tribes these sections are called Thums, and the same rule prevails. Colonel Dalton tells us that 'the Hos, Moondahs, 'and Oraons are divided into clans or keelis, and may 'not take to wife a girl of the same keeli.' Again, the Garrows are divided into 'maharis,' and a man may not marry a girl of his own 'mahari.'

The Munnieporees and other tribes inhabiting the hills round Munniepore—the Koupooees, Mows, Murams, and Murrings, as M'Lennan points out on the authority of M'Culloch—'are each and all divided into 'four families: Koomrul, Looang, Angom, and Ning-'thaja. A member of any of these families may marry 'a member of any other, but the intermarriage of 'members of the same family is strictly prohibited.'[3] On the contrary, the Todas, says Metz,[4] 'are divided 'into five distinct classes, known by the names Peiky, 'Pekkan, Kuttan, Kennae, and Tody; of which the 'first is regarded as the most aristocratic. These classes 'do not even intermarry with each other, and can there-'fore never lose their distinctive characteristics.' The Khonds, as we are informed by General Campbell, 're-'gard it as degrading to bestow their daughters in

[1] Godwin Austen, Journ. Anthr. Inst., 1871, p. 131.

[2] Dalton's Descr. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 158.

[3] Account of the Valley of Munniepore, 1859, pp. 49, 69.

[4] Tribes of the Neilgherry Hills, p. 21.

'marriage on men of their own tribe; and consider it 'more manly to seek their wives in a distant country.'[1] Major M'Pherson also tells us that they consider marriage between people of the same tribe as wicked, and punishable with death. The mountain tribes of Nepaul, before the advent of the Rajpoots, are said to have consisted of twelve Thums or clans, and no man was permitted to marry a woman of the same Thum.[2]

We are indebted to Mr. Brito,[3] of Colombo, for a very interesting treatise on the rules of succession among the Mukkuvars of Ceylon. These rules are founded on the custom that no one may marry a person of the same 'kudi,' *i.e.* anyone who is related on the mother's side. Indeed, all relationship is from the mother, none from the father; succession is traced through the mother; land, if inherited, is out of marital power, and is managed by the males for the females.

The Kalmucks, according to De Hell, are divided into hordes, and no man can marry a woman of the same horde. The bride, says Bergman, speaking of the same people, is always chosen from another stock; 'among the Derbets, for instance, from the Torgot 'stock, and among the Torgots from the Derbet 'stock.'

The same custom prevails among the Circassians and the Samoyedes.[4] The Ostyaks regard it as a crime to marry a woman of the same family or even of the same name.[5]

When a Jakut (Siberia) wishes to marry, he must,

[1] Campbell, p. 142.
[2] Hamilton's Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, p. 27.
[3] The Mukkuva Law.
[4] Pallas, vol. iv. p. 96.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 69.

says Middendorf,[1] choose a girl from another clan. No one is permitted to marry a woman from his own. In China, says Davis,[2] 'marriage between all persons of 'the same surname being unlawful, this rule must of 'course include all descendants of the male branch for 'ever; and as, in so vast a population, there are not a 'great many more than one hundred surnames through-'out the empire, the embarrassments that arise from so 'strict a law must be considerable.'

Among the Tinné Indians of North-West America, 'a Chit-sangh cannot, by their rules,[3] marry a Chit-'sangh, although the rule is set at naught occasionally; 'but when it does take place the persons are ridiculed 'and laughed at. The man is said to have married his 'sister, even though she may be from another tribe, 'and there be not the slightest connection by blood 'between them. The same way with the other two 'divisions. The children are of the same colour as 'their mother. They receive caste from their mother: 'if a male Chit-sangh marry a Nah-tsingh woman, the 'children are Nah-tsingh; and if a male Nah-tsingh 'marry a Chit-sangh woman, the children are Chit-'sangh, so that the divisions are always changing. As 'the fathers die out, the country inhabited by the 'Chit-sangh becomes occupied by the Nah-tsingh, and 'so *vice versâ*. They are continually changing coun-'tries, as it were.'

Among the Kenaiyers (N.W. America), 'it was the 'custom that the men of one stock should choose their

[1] Sibirische Reise, p. 72. See also Müller's Descr. de toutes les Races de l'Emp. de Russie, pt. ii. p. 58.

[2] The Chinese, vol. i. p. 282.

[3] Notes on the Tinneh. Hardisty, Smithsonian Report, 1866, p. 315.

'wives from another, and the offspring belonged to 'the race of the mother. This custom has fallen into 'disuse, and marriages in the same tribe occur; but the 'old people say that mortality among Kenaiyers has 'arisen from the neglect of the ancient usage. A man's 'nearest heirs in this tribe are his sister's children.'[1] The Tsimshean Indians of British Columbia[2] are similarly divided into tribes and totems, or 'crests, 'which are common to all the tribes. The crests are 'the whale, the porpoise, the eagle, the coon, the wolf, 'and the frog. In connection with these crests, several 'very important points of Indian character and law are 'seen. The relationship existing between persons of 'the same crest is nearer than that between members of 'the same tribe, which is seen in this, that members of 'the same tribe may marry, but those of the same crest 'are not allowed to do so under any circumstances; 'that is, a whale may not marry a whale, but a whale 'may marry a frog,' &c.

Very similar rules exist among the Thlinkeets,[3] and indeed, as regards the Northern Redskins generally, it is stated[4] in 'Archæologia Americana' that 'every 'nation was divided into a number of clans, varying in 'the several nations from three to eight or ten, the 'members of which respectively were dispersed indis-'criminately throughout the whole nation. It has been 'fully ascertained that the inviolable regulations by 'which these clans were perpetuated amongst the

[1] Richardson's Boat Journey, vol. i. p. 406. See also Smithsonian Report, 1866, p. 326.

[2] Metlahkatlah, published by the Church Missionary Society, 1869, p. 6.

[3] Bancroft, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 109.

[4] Gallatin, *loc. cit.* vol. xi. p. 109. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 558. Tanner's Narrative, p. 313.

'southern nations were, first, that no man could marry 'in his own clan; secondly, that every child should 'belong to his or her mother's clan.'

Among the Mayas of Yucatan, according to Herrera, marriage was forbidden between people of the same name.

The Indians of Guiana[1] 'are divided into families, 'each of which has a distinct name, as the *Siwidi*, '*Karuafudi*, *Onisidi*, &c. Unlike our families, these all 'descend in the female line, and no individual of either 'sex is allowed to marry another of the same family 'name. Thus, a woman of the Siwidi family bears the 'same name as her mother, but neither her father nor 'her husband can be of that family. Her children and 'the children of her daughters will also be called Siwidi, 'but both her sons and daughters are prohibited from 'an alliance with any individual bearing the same name; 'though they may marry into the family of their father 'if they choose. These customs are strictly observed, 'and any breach of them would be considered as 'wicked.'

The Brazilian races, according to Martius, differ greatly in their marriage regulations. In some of the very scattered tribes, who live in small families far remote from one another, the nearest relatives often intermarry. In more populous districts, on the contrary, the tribes are divided into families, and a strict system of exogamy prevails.[2] In Mangaia, according to Mr. Gill, in olden times, a man was not permitted to marry a woman of his own tribe.[3]

[1] Brett's Indian Tribes of Guiana, p. 98.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 63.

[3] Savage Life in Polynesia, p. 136.

Thus, then, we see that this remarkable custom of exogamy exists throughout Western and Eastern Africa, in Circassia, Hindostan, Tartary, Siberia, China, Polynesia, and Australia, as well as in North and South America.

The relations existing between husband and wife in the lower races of man, as indicated in the preceding pages, are sufficient to remove all surprise at the prevalence of polygamy. There are, however, other causes, not less powerful, though perhaps less prominent, to which much influence must be ascribed. Thus in all tropical regions girls become marriageable very young; their beauty is acquired early, and soon fades, while men, on the contrary, retain their full powers much longer. Hence, when love depends, not on similarity of tastes, pursuits, or sympathies, but entirely on external attractions, we cannot wonder that every man who is able to do so provides himself with a succession of favourites, even when the first wife remains not only nominally the head, but really his confidant and adviser. Another cause has no doubt exercised great influence. Milk is necessary for children, and in the absence of domestic animals it consequently follows that they are not weaned until they are several years old. The effect of this on the social relations has been already referred to.[1]

Polyandry, on the contrary, is far less common, though more frequent than is generally supposed. M'Lennan and Morgan, indeed, both regard it as a phase through which human progress has necessarily passed.

If, however, we define it as the condition in which

[1] *Ante*, p. 79.

one woman is married to several men, but (as distinguished from communal marriage) to them exclusively, then I am rather disposed to regard it as an exceptional phenomenon, arising from the paucity of females.

M'Lennan, indeed,[1] gives a long list of tribes which he regards as polyandrous, namely, those of Thibet, Cashmeer, and the Himalayan regions, the Todas, Coorgs, Nairs, and various other races in India, in Ceylon, in New Zealand,[2] and one or two other Pacific islands, in the Aleutian Archipelago, among the Koryaks, the Saporogian Cossacks, on the Orinoco, in parts of Africa, and in Lancerote. He also mentions the ancient Britons, some of the Median cantons, the Picts, and the Getes, while traces of it occurred among the ancient Germans. On the other hand, to the instances quoted by M'Lennan we may add that of some families among the Australians,[3] Nukahivans,[4] and Iroquois.

If we examine the above instances, some of them will, I think, prove irrelevant. The passage referred to in Tacitus[5] does not appear to me to justify us in regarding the Germans as having been polyandrous.

Erman is correctly referred to by M'Lennan as mentioning the existence of 'lawful polyandry in the 'Aleutian Islands.' He does not, however, give his authority for the statement. The account he gives of the Koryaks by no means, I think, proves that polyandry occurs among them. The case of the Kalmucks, to judge from the account given by Clarke,[6] is certainly

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 180.
[2] Lafitau, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 555.
[3] Gerland's Waitz' Anthropologie, vol. vi. p. 774.
[4] *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 128.
[5] Germania, xx.
[6] Travels, vol. i. p. 241.

one in which brothers, but brothers only, have a wife in common.

For Polynesia, M'Lennan relies on the Legend of Rupe, as told by Sir G. Grey.[1] Here, however, it is merely stated that two brothers named Ihuatamai and Ihuwareware, having found Hinauri, when she was thrown by the surf on the coast at Wairarawa, 'looked 'upon her with pleasure, and took her as a wife between 'them both.' This seems to me rather a case of communal marriage than of polyandry, especially when the rest of the legend is borne in mind. Neither is the evidence as regards Africa at all satisfactory. The custom referred to by M'Lennan[2] probably originates in the subjection of the woman which is there implied by marriage, and which may be regarded as inconsistent with high rank.

Several of the above cases are, indeed, I think, merely instances of communal marriage. Indeed, it is evident that where our information is incomplete, it must often be far from easy to distinguish between communal marriage and true polyandry.

Polyandry is no doubt widely distributed in Ceylon, India, and Thibet, and among some of the hill tribes of India. A pretty Dophla girl once came into the station of Luckimpur, threw herself at Colonel Dalton's feet, 'and in most poetical language asked me 'to give her my protection.' She was promised by her father to a man whom she did not love, and had 'eloped with her beloved. This was interesting and 'romantic.' Colonel Dalton sent for the beloved, and, he

[1] Polynesian Mythology, p. 81. [2] Reade's Savage Africa, p. 43.

says, 'the romance was dispelled. She had eloped with 'two young men.'[1] In Ceylon the joint husbands are always brothers,[2] and this is also the case among the tribes residing at the foot of the Himalaya[3] Mountains. But, on the whole, lawful polyandry (as opposed to mere laxness of morality) seems to be an exceptional system, generally intended to avoid the evils arising from monogamy where the number of women is less than that of men.

The system of Levirate, under which, at a man's death, his wife or wives pass to his brother, is, I think, more intimately connected with the rights of property than with polyandry. This custom is widely distributed. It is found, for instance, among the Mongols[4] and Kaffirs,[5] and in Yucatan.[6] When an elder brother dies, says Livingstone,[7] 'the same thing occurs in re-'spect of his wives; the brother next in age takes them, 'as among the Jews, and the children that may be born 'of those women he calls his brothers also.'

In India, among the Nairs, 'a man always takes to 'wife, by the custom called Sagai, his elder brother's 'widow.'[8] Among the Pacific Islanders, Mr. Brenchley mentions that in Erromango 'the wives of deceased 'brothers fall to the eldest surviving brother.'[9]

Similar statements have been made also as regards some of the Negro tribes, the Mexicans, Samoans, New Zealanders, and Khyens.

[1] Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 36.

[2] Davy's Ceylon, p. 286.

[3] Fraser's Tour to the Himala Mountains, pp. 70, 206.

[4] Wuttke's Ges. der Menschheit, vol. i. p. 223.

[5] Arbousset's Tour to the N.E. of the Cape of Good Hope, pp. 38, 138.

[6] Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 671.

[7] Travels in South Africa, p. 185.

[8] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 138.

[9] Cruise of the 'Curaçoa,' p. 319.

Passing on now to the custom of endogamy, I must first observe that there is not the opposition between exogamy and endogamy which Mr. M'Lennan supposed. Some races which are endogamous as regards the tribe are yet exogamous as regards the gens. Thus some of the Indian races, as the Abors,[1] Kocchs, and Hos, are forbidden to marry excepting within the tribe. The latter at least, however, are not truly endogamous, for, as already mentioned, they are divided into 'keelis' or clans, and 'may not take to wife a girl 'of their own keeli.'[2] Thus they are in fact exogamous, and it is possible that some of the other cases of endogamy might, if we were better acquainted with them, present the same duplex phenomenon.

M'Lennan remarks that 'the separate endogamous 'tribes are nearly as numerous, and they are in some 'respects as rude, as the separate exogamous tribes.'[3]

So far as my knowledge goes, on the contrary, endogamy is much less prevalent than exogamy, and it seems to me to have arisen from a feeling of race-pride, as, for instance, in Peru,[4] and a disdain of surrounding tribes which were either really or hypothetically in a lower condition, though in some cases it may be due to weakness, and a consequent desire to avoid offending powerful neighbours.

Among the Ahts of N. W. America, as mentioned by Sproat, 'though the different tribes of the Aht nation 'are frequently at war with one another, women are not 'captured from other tribes for marriage, but only to be

[1] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 28.

[2] *Ante*, p. 115.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 145.

[4] Wuttke's Ges. der Menschheit, vol. i. pp. 325, 331.

'kept as slaves. The idea of slavery connected with 'capture is so common, that a free-born Aht would hesi-'tate to marry a woman taken in war, whatever her 'rank had been in her own tribe.'[1]

Endogamy also prevails among several of the wild tribes of Central America.[2]

Among the Yerkalas[3] of Southern India 'a custom 'prevails by which the first two daughters of a family 'may be claimed by the maternal uncle as wives for his 'sons. The value of a wife is fixed at twenty pagodas. 'The maternal uncle's right to the first two daughters 'is valued at eight out of twenty pagodas, and is carried 'out thus: if he urges his preferential claim, and 'marries his own sons to his nieces, he pays for each 'only twelve pagodas; and, similarly, if he, from not 'having sons, or any other cause, forego his claim, 'he receives eight pagodas of the twenty paid to the 'girls' parents by anybody else who may marry them.' Among some of the Karen tribes marriage between near relations is the rule.[4]

The Doingnaks, a branch of the Chukmas, appear also to have been endogamous, and Captain Lewin mentions that they 'abandoned the parent stem during 'the chiefship of Jaunbux Khan, about 1782. The 'reason of this split was a disagreement on the subject 'of marriages. The chief passed an order that the 'Doingnaks should intermarry with the tribe in general. 'This was contrary to ancient custom, and caused dis-'content and eventually a break in the tribe.'[5] This

[1] Sproat, Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 98.

[2] Bancroft, vol. i. p. 703.

[3] Shortt, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vii. p. 187.

[4] M'Mahon, p. 59.

[5] Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 65.

is one of the very few cases where we have evidence of a change in this respect.

The Kalangs of Java are also endogamous, and when a man asks a girl in marriage he must prove his descent from their peculiar stock.[1] The Mantchu Tartars forbid marriages between those whose family names are different.[2] Among the Bedouins, 'a man has an exclusive right to the hand of his cousin,'[3] and it is the custom of the Karens that 'marriages must always be 'contracted by relations.'[4] Livingstone also mentions that in South Africa the women of the Akombwi 'never 'intermarry with any other tribe.'[5] In Guam brothers and sisters used to intermarry, and it is even stated that such unions were preferred as being most natural and proper.[6] Endogamy would seem to have prevailed in the Sandwich Islands,[7] and in New Zealand, where, as Yate mentions, 'great opposition is made to anyone 'taking, except for some political purpose, a wife from 'another tribe, so that such intermarriages seldom 'occur.'[8] Barrow mentions that the Hottentots seldom married out of their own kraal.[9] On the whole, however, endogamy seems a far less common custom than exogamy.

The idea of relationship as existing amongst us, founded on marriage, and implying equal connection of a child to its father and mother, seems so natural and

[1] Raffles' History of Java, vol. i. p. 328.

[2] M'Lennan, *loc. cit.* p. 146.

[3] Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, vol. i. pp. 113, 272.

[4] Morgan, Syst. of Cons. and Aff. of the Human Family, p. 444.

[5] Exp. to the Zambesi, p. 39.

[6] Arago's Letters. Freycinet's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 17.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 94.

[8] New Zealand, p. 99.

[9] Travels in South Africa, vol. i. p. 144.

obvious that there are, perhaps, many to whom the possibility of any other system has not occurred. The facts already recorded will, however, have prepared us for the existence of peculiar ideas on the subject of relationship. The strength of the foster-feeling, the milk-tie, among the Scotch Highlanders is a familiar instance of a mode of regarding relationship very different from that prevalent amongst us.

We have also seen that, under the custom of communal marriage, a child was regarded as related to the tribe, but not specially to any particular father or mother. Such a state of things, indeed, is only possible in very small communities. It is evident that under communal marriage—and little less so wherever polygamy prevailed, and men had many wives—the tie between and father and son must have been very slight. Among agricultural tribes, and under settled forms of government, the chiefs often have very large harems, and their importance even is measured by the number of their wives, as in other cases by that of their cows or horses.

This state of things is in many ways very prejudicial. It checks, of course, the natural affection and friendly intercourse between man and wife. The King of Ashantee, for instance, always had 3,333 wives; but no man can love so many women, nor can so many women cherish any personal affection for one man.

Even among hunting races, though men were unable to maintain so many wives, still, as changes are of frequent occurrence, the tie between a mother and child is much stronger than that which binds a child to its

father. Hence we find that among many of the lower races relationship through females is the prevalent custom, and we are thus able to understand the curious practice that a man's heirs are not his own, but his sister's children.

By some it has been regarded as indicating the high respect paid to women. Thus Plutarch tells us that 'when Bellerophon slew a certain wild boar, which 'destroyed the cattle and fruits in the province of the 'Xanthians, and received no due reward of his services, 'he prayed to Neptune for vengeance, and obtained 'that all the fields should cast forth a salt dew and be 'universally corrupted, which continued till he, conde-'scendingly regarding the women suppliants, prayed to 'Neptune and removed his wrath from them. Hence 'there was a law among the Xanthians that they should 'derive their names in future, not from the fathers, but 'from the mothers.'[1]

Montesquieu[2] regarded relationship through females as intended to prevent the accumulation of landed property in few hands—an explanation manifestly inapplicable to many, nay, the majority, of cases in which the custom exists—and the explanation above suggested is, I have no doubt, the correct one.

Thus, when a rich man died in Guinea, his property, excepting the armour, descended to the sister's son, expressly, according to Smith, on the ground that he must certainly have been a relative.[3] Battel mentions that the town of Longo (Loango) 'is governed by four

[1] Plutarch, Concerning the Virtues of Women.

[2] Esprit des Lois, vol. i. p. 70.

[3] Smith's Voyage to Guinea, p. 143. See also Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xv. pp. 417, 421, 528; Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 63, 256.

'chiefs, who are sons of the king's sisters; for the 'king's sons never come to be kings.'[1] Quatremère mentions that 'chez les Nubiens, dit Abou Selah, lorsqu'un 'roi vient à mourir et qu'il laisse un fils et un neveu du 'côté de sa sœur, celui monte sur le trône de préférence 'à l'héritier naturel.'[2]

In Central Africa, Caillié[3] says that 'the sovereignty 'remains always in the same family, but the son never 'succeeds his father; they choose in preference a son of 'the king's sister, conceiving that by this method the 'sovereign power is more sure to be transmitted to one 'of the blood royal; a precaution which shows how 'little faith is put in the virtue of the women of this 'country.' In South Africa, among the Bangalas of the Cassange valley, 'the sons of a sister belong to her 'brother; and he often sells his nephews to pay his 'debts;'[4] the Banyai 'choose the son of the deceased 'chief's sister in preference to his own offspring.' In Northern Africa we find the same custom among the Berbers;[5] Burton records it as existing in the North-East; and on the Congo, according to Tuckey, the chieftainships 'are hereditary, through the female line, 'as a precaution to make certain of the blood royal in 'the succession.'[6] Sibree mentions that the same is the case in Madagascar, where the custom is defended expressly on the ground 'that the descent can be proved

[1] Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 331.

[2] Mém. Géogr. sur l'Égypte et sur quelques contrées voisines, Paris, 1811. Quoted in Bachofen's Mutterrecht, p. 108.

[3] Caillié's Travels, vol. i. p. 153. Barth's Travels, vol. i. p. 337; vol. ii. p. 273.

[4] Livingstone's Travels in South Africa, pp. 434, 617.

[5] La Mère chez certains peuples de l'Antiquité, p. 45.

[6] Tuckey's Exp. to the River Zaire, p. 365.

'from the mother, while it is often impossible to know 'the paternity of a child.'[1]

Herodotus[2] supposed that this custom was peculiar to the Lycians: they have, he says, 'one custom pecu- 'liar to themselves, in which they differ from all other 'nations; for they take their name from their mothers, 'and not from their fathers; so that if anyone asks 'another who he is, he will describe himself by his 'mother's side, and reckon up his maternal ancestry in 'the female line.' Polybius makes the same statement as regards the Locrians; and on Etruscan tombs descent is stated in the female line.

In Athens, also, relationship through females prevailed down to the time of Cecrops.

Tacitus,[3] speaking of the Germans, says, 'Children 'are regarded with equal affection by their maternal 'uncles as by their fathers; some even consider this as 'the more sacred bond of consanguinity, and prefer it 'in the requisition of hostages.' He adds, 'A person's 'own children, however, are his heirs and successors; 'no wills are made.' From this it would appear as if female inheritance had been recently and not universally abandoned. Among the Picts also the throne until a late period was always held by right of the female. In the Irish Legends it is stated that this was a condition imposed by Eremon, who when the Picts were about to invade Scotland supplied them with wives on this condition.[4]

In India the Kasias, the Kocchs, and the Nairs have

[1] Madagascar and its People, p. 192.

[2] Clio, 173.

[3] De Mor. Germ. xx.

[4] Ferguson, The Irish before the Conquest, p. 129.

the system of female kinship. Buchanan[1] tells us that among the Bantar in Tulava a man's property does not descend to his own children, but to those of his sister. Sir W. Eliot states that the people of Malabar 'all 'agree in one remarkable usage—that of transmitting 'property through females only.'[2] He adds, on the authority of Lieutenant Conner, that the same is the case in Travancore, among all the castes except the Ponans and the Namburi Brahmans.

As Latham states, 'no Nair son knows his own 'father ; and, *vice versâ*, no Nair father knows his own 'son. What becomes of the property of the husband ? 'It descends to the children of his sister.'[3]

Among the Limboos (India), a tribe near Darjeeling,[4] the boys become the property of the father on his paying the mother a small sum of money, when the child is named and enters his father's tribe : girls remain with the mother, and belong to her tribe.

Marsden tells us[5] that among the Battas of Sumatra 'the succession to the chiefships does not go, in the 'first instance, to the son of the deceased, but to the 'nephew by a sister ; and that the same extraordinary 'rule, with respect to the property in general, prevails 'also amongst the Malays of that part of the island, 'and even in the neighbourhood of Padang. The 'authorities for this are various and unconnected with 'each other, but not sufficiently circumstantial to 'induce me to admit it as a generally established 'practice.'

[1] Vol. iii. p. 16.

[2] Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1869, p. 119.

[3] Descriptive Ethnology, vol. ii. p. 463.

[4] Campbell, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N. S., vol. vii. p. 155.

[5] Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 376.

Among the Kenaiyers at Cook's Inlet, according to Sir John Richardson, property descends, not to a man's own children, but to those of his sister.[1] The same is the case with the Kutchin,[2] and it is said generally, though not always, among the Columbian Indians.[3]

Carver[4] mentions that among the Hudson's Bay Indians the children 'are always distinguished by the 'name of the mother; and if a woman marries several 'husbands, and has issue by each of them, they are all 'called after her. The reason they give for this is, that 'as their offspring are indebted to the father for their 'souls, the invisible part of their essence, and to the 'mother for their corporeal and apparent part, it is 'more rational that they should be distinguished by the 'name of the latter, from whom they indubitably derive 'their being, than by that of the father, to which a 'doubt might sometimes arise whether they are justly 'entitled.' 'Descent amongst the Iroquois is in the 'female line, both as to the tribe and as to nationality. 'The children are of the tribe of the mother. If a 'Cayuga marries a Delaware woman, for example, his 'children are Delawares and aliens, unless formally 'naturalised with the forms of adoption; but if a 'Delaware marries a Cayuga woman, her children are 'Cayugas, and of her tribe of the Cayugas. It is the 'same as if she marries a Seneca.'[5]

In fact, among the North American Indians generally, as we shall see more particularly in the next

[1] Boat Journey, vol. i. p. 406.

[2] Smithsonian Report, 1866, p. 326.

[3] Bancroft, vol. i. p. 193.

[4] Carver, p. 378. See also p. 259; also *ante*, p. 112.

[5] Morgan's Syst. of Cons. and Aff. of the Human Family, p. 165. Hunter's Captivity among the North American Indians, p. 249.

chapter, the relationship of the uncle, that is to say, the mother's brother, is more important than any other. He is practically the head of his sister's family. Among the Choctas, for instance, even now, if a boy is to be placed at school, his uncle, and not his father, takes him to the mission and makes the arrangement.[1] A similar rule prevailed in Haiti and Mexico.[2] According to Gomara, among the Peruvians, except as regards the Incas, nephews inherited, not sons.

As regards Polynesia, Mariner states that in the Friendly or Tonga Islands 'nobility descends by the 'female line; for when the mother is not a noble, the 'children are not nobles.'[3] The same custom, or traces of it, exist throughout Polynesia, but it would seem that these islanders were passing from the stage of relationship through females to that through males. The existence of inheritance through females is clearly indicated in the Fijian custom known as Vasu. In some of the Carolines and Mariannes the highest honour passed in the female line.[4] In the Hervey Islands, children belong either to the tribe of the father or to that of the mother, according to arrangement; generally, however, to that of the father.[5]

In Western Australia, 'children of either sex always 'take the family name of their mother.'[6] In other districts, however, as, for instance, on the Lower

[1] Morgan, *loc. cit.* p. 158.

[2] Müller, Gesch. d. American. Urreligionen, pp. 167, 539.

[3] Tonga Islands, vol. ii. pp. 89, 91.

[4] Hale, United States Ex. Exp., p. 83. Gerland, Con. of Waitz' Anthr. vol. v. pt. ii. pp. 108, 114, 117.

[5] Gill, Myths of the South Pacific, p. 36.

[6] Eyre, *loc. cit.* p. 330. Ridley, Journal Anthrop. Institute, 1872, p. 264.

Murray, a man's children belong to his tribe, and not to that of the mother.[1]

Among the ancient Jews, Abraham married his half sister, Nahor married his brother's daughter, and Amram his father's sister ; this was permitted because they were not regarded as relations. Tamar also evidently might have married Amnon, though they were both children of David : 'Speak unto the king,' she said, 'for he will not withhold me from thee ;' for, as their mothers were not the same, they were no relations in the eye of the law. Solon also permitted marriage with sisters on the father's side, but not on the mother's.

Here, therefore, we have abundant evidence of the second stage, in which the child is related to the mother, and not to the father ; whence a man's heir is his nephew on the sister's side—not his own child, who is in some cases regarded as no relation to him at all.

When, however, marriage became more respected, and the family affections stronger, it is easy to see that the rule under which a man's property went to his sister's children would become unpopular, both with the father, who would naturally wish his children to inherit his property, and not less so with the children themselves. This change is even now in process among the more civilised North American Indians.[2]

M. Girard Teulon, indeed, to whom we are indebted for a very interesting memoir on this subject,[3] regards the first recognition of his parental relationship as an

[1] Taplin, The Narinyeri, p. 10.

[2] Report of the Peabody Museum, vol. iii. p. 214.

[3] La Mère chez certains peuples de l'Antiquité.

act of noble self-devotion on the part of some great genius in ancient times. 'Le premier,' he says, 'qui 'consentit à se reconnaître père fut un homme de génie 'et de cœur, un des grands bienfaiteurs de l'humanité. 'Prouve en effet que l'enfant t'appartient. Es-tu sûr 'qu'il est un autre toi-même, ton fruit ? que tu l'as 'enfanté ? ou bien, à l'aide d'une généreuse et volon-'taire crédulité, marches-tu, noble inventeur, à la con-'quête d'un but supérieur ?'

Bachofen also, while characterising the change from female to male relationship as the 'wichtigsten Wende-'punkt in der Geschichte des Geschlechts-Verhältnisses,' explains it, as I cannot but think, in an altogether erroneous manner. He regards it as a liberation of the spirit from the deceptive appearances of nature, an elevation of human existence above the laws of mere matter ; as a recognition that the creative power is the most important ; and, in short, as a subordination of the material to the spiritual part of our nature. By this step, he says, 'man durchbricht die Bänder des Tellu-'rismus, und erhebt seinen Blick zu den höhern Regionen 'des Kosmos.'[1]

These seem to me, I confess, very curious notions, and I cannot at all agree with them. The recognition of paternal responsibility grew up, I believe, gradually through the impulses of natural affection. The adoption of relationship through the father's line, instead of through the mother's, was probably effected by the natural wish which everyone would feel that his property should go to his own children. It is true that we have not many cases like that of Athens, in which there is a record of

[1] Bachofen, Das Mutterrecht, p. 27.

this change; but as it is easy to see how it might have been brought about, and difficult to suppose that the opposite step can ever have been made; as, moreover, we find relationship through the father very general, not to say universal, in civilised races, while the opposite system is very common among savages, it is evident that this change must frequently have been effected.

Taking all these facts, then, into consideration, whenever we find relationship through females only, I think we may safely look upon it as the relic of an ancient barbarism.

As soon as the change was made, the father would take the place held previously by the mother, and the father, instead of the mother, would be regarded as the parent. Hence, on the birth of a child, the father would naturally be very careful what he did, and what he ate, for fear the child should be injured. Thus, I believe, arises the curious custom of the Couvade to which I referred in my first chapter.

Relationship to the father at first excludes that to the mother, and, from having been regarded as no relation to the former, children came to be looked on as none to the latter.

In some parts of South America, where it is customary to treat captives well in every respect for a certain time, giving them clothes, food, a wife, &c., and then to kill and eat them, any children they may have are killed and eaten also.[1] As a general rule inheritance and relationship go together; but in some parts of Australia, while the old rule of tracing descent through

[1] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 307.

the mother still exists, property is inherited in the male line,[1] though it appears that the division is made during the father's life.

How completely the idea of relationship through the father, when once recognised, might replace that through the mother, we may see in the very curious trial of Orestes. Agamemnon, having been murdered by his wife Clytemnestra, was avenged by their son Orestes, who killed his mother for the murder of his father. For this act he was prosecuted before the tribunal of the gods by the Erinnyes, whose function it was to punish those who shed the blood of relatives. In his defence, Orestes asks them why they did not punish Clytemnestra for the murder of Agamemnon; and when they reply that marriage does not constitute blood relationship,—'She was not the kindred of the 'man whom she slew,'—he pleads that by the same rule they cannot touch *him*, because a man is a relation to his father, but not to his mother. This view, though it seems to us so unnatural, was supported by Apollo and Minerva, and being adopted by the majority of the gods, led to the acquittal of Orestes.

Hence we see that the views prevalent on relationship—views by which the whole social organisation is so profoundly affected—are by no means the same among different races, nor uniform at the same historical period. We ourselves still confuse affinity and consanguinity; but into this part of the question it is not my intention to enter: the evidence brought forward in the preceding pages is, however, I think, sufficient to show that children were not in the earliest times

[1] Grey's Australia, vol. ii. pp. 226, 236.

regarded as related equally to their father and their mother, but that the natural progress of ideas is, first, that a child is related to his tribe generally ; secondly, to his mother, and not to his father ; thirdly, to his father, and not to his mother ; lastly, and lastly only, that he is related to both.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONSHIPS.

IN the previous chapter I have discussed the question of marriage as it exists among the lower races of men, and the relation of children to their parents. In the present, I propose to consider the question of relationships in general, and to endeavour to trace up the ideas on this subject from their rudest form to that in which they exist amongst more civilised races.

For the facts on which this chapter is based we are mainly indebted to Mr. Morgan, who has collected a great mass of information on the subject, which has recently been published by the Smithsonian Institution. Though I dissent from Mr. Morgan's main conclusions, his work appears to me one of the most valuable contributions to ethnological science which has appeared for many years.[1] It contains schedules, most of which are very complete, giving the systems of relationships of no less than 139 races or tribes ; and we have, therefore (though there are still many lamentable deficiencies—the Siberians, South Americans, and true Negroes being, for instance, as yet unrepresented), a great body of evidence illustrating the ideas on the subject of relationships which prevail among different races of men.

[1] Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family, by L. H. Morgan, 1870.

Our own system of relationships naturally follows from the marriage of single pairs ; and it is, in its general nomenclature, so mere a description of the actual facts, that most persons tacitly regard it as necessarily general to the human race, with, of course, verbal and unimportant differences in detail. Hence but little information can be extracted from dictionaries and vocabularies. They generally, for instance, give words for uncle, aunt, and cousin ; but an uncle may be either a father's brother or a mother's brother, and an aunt may be either a father's sister or a mother's sister ; a first cousin, again, may be the child of any one of these four uncles and aunts ; but practically, as we shall see, these cases are in many races distinguished from one another ; and I may add, in passing, it is by no means clear that we are right in regarding them as identical and equivalent. Travellers have, on various occasions, noticed with surprise some special peculiarity of nomenclature which came under their notice ; but Mr. Morgan was the first to collect complete schedules of relationships. The special points which have been observed have, indeed, been generally regarded as mere eccentricities ; but this is evidently not the case, because the principle or principles to which they are due are consistently carried out, and the nomenclature is reciprocal generally, though not quite without exceptions. Thus, if the Mohawks call a father's brother, not an uncle, but a father, they not only call his son a brother and his grandson a son, but these descendants also use the correlative terms.

We must remember that our ideas of relationships are founded on our social system, and that, as other

races have very different habits and ideas on this subject, it is natural to expect that their systems of relationship would also differ from ours. I have in the previous chapter pointed out that the ideas and customs with reference to marriage are very dissimilar in different races, and we may say, as a general rule, that, as we descend in the scale of civilisation, the family diminishes, and the tribe increases, in importance. Words have a profound influence over thought, and true family-names prevail principally among the highest races of men. Even in the less advanced portions of our own country, we know that collective names were those of the tribe, rather than the family.

I have already mentioned that among the Romans the 'family' was not a natural family in our sense of the term. It was founded,[1] not on marriage, but on power. The family of a chief consisted, not of those allied to him by blood, but of those over whom he exercised control. Hence, an emancipated son ceased to be one of the family, and did not, except by will, take any share in his father's property; on the other hand, the wife introduced into the family by marriage, or the stranger converted into a son by adoption, became regularly recognised members of the family, though no blood tie existed.

Marriage, again, in Rome, was symbolised by capture or purchase, as among so many of the lower races at the present day. In fact, the idea of marriage among the lower races of men generally is essentially of a different character from ours; it is material, not spiritual; it is founded on force, not on love; the wife

[1] See Ortolan's Justinian, p. 126, *et seq.*

is not united with, but enslaved to, her husband. Of such a system traces, and more than traces, still exist in our own country: our customs, indeed, are more advanced, and wives enjoy a very different status in reality, to that which they occupy in law. Among the Redskins, however, the wife is a mere servant to her husband, and there are cases on record in which husband and wife, belonging originally to different tribes, have lived together for years without either caring to acquire the other's language, satisfied to communicate with one another entirely by signs.

It must, however, be observed that, though the Redskin family is constituted in a manner very unlike ours, still the nomenclature of relationships is founded upon it, such as it is, and has no relation to the tribal system, as will presently be shown.

Mr. Morgan divides the systems of relationships into two great classes, the descriptive and the classificatory, which he regards as radically distinct. The first, he says (p. 12), 'which is that of the Aryan, Semitic, 'and Uralian families, rejecting the classification of 'kindred, except so far as it is in accordance with the 'numerical system, describes collateral consanguinei, 'for the most part, by an augmentation or combination 'of the primary terms of relationship. The second, 'which is that of the Turanian, American Indian, and 'Malayan families, rejecting descriptive phrases in every 'instance, and reducing consanguinei to great classes 'by a series of apparently arbitrary generalisations, 'applies the same terms to all the members of the same 'class. It thus confounds relationships, which, under 'the descriptive system, are distinct, and enlarges the

'signification both of the primary and secondary terms 'beyond their seemingly appropriate sense.'

While, however, I fully admit the immense difference between, say, our English system and that of the Kingsmill Islanders, as shown in Table I.[1] opposite, they seem to me to be rather the extremes of a series than founded on different ideals.

Mr. Morgan admits that systems of relationships have undergone a gradual development, following that of the social condition; but he also attributes to them great value in the determination of ethnological affinities. I am not sure that I exactly understand his views as to the precise bearing of these two conclusions in relation to one another; and I have elsewhere[2] given my reasons for dissenting from his interpretation of the facts in reference to social relations. I shall, therefore, now confine myself to the question of the bearing of systems of relationships on questions of ethnological affinity, and to a consideration of the manner in which the various systems have arisen. As might naturally have been expected, Mr. Morgan's information is most full and complete with reference to the North American Indians. Of these, he gives the terms for no less than 268 relationships in about seventy different tribes. Of these relationships, some are, for our present purposes, much more important than others. The most significant are the following:—

1. Brother's son and daughter.
2. Sister's son and daughter.

[1] I have constructed this table from Mr. Morgan's schedules, selecting the relationships which are the most significant, and arranging them in a manner which seems to me more instructive than that adopted by Mr. Morgan.

[2] Jour. Anthr. Inst. vol. i.

3. Mother's brother.
4. Mother's brother's son.
5. Father's sister.
6. Father's sister's son.
7. Father's brother.
8. Father's brother's son.
9. Mother's sister.
10. Mother's sister's son.
11. Grandfather's brother.
12. Brothers' and sisters' grandchildren.

Now let me call attention to the Wyandot system as shown in column 8 of Table I. It will be observed that a mother's brother is called an uncle; his son a cousin; his grandson a son when a male is speaking, a nephew when a female is speaking; his great-grandson a grandson. A father's sister is termed an aunt; her son a cousin; her grandson a son; her great-grandson a grandson. A father's brother is a father; his son a brother, distinguished, however, by different terms according as he is older or younger than the speaker; his grandson a son; his great-grandson a grandson. A mother's sister is a mother;[1] her son is a brother, distinguished as before; her grandson a son when a male is speaking, a nephew when a female is speaking. A grandfather's brother is a grandfather; and a grandfather's sister is a grandmother. A brother's son is a son when a male is speaking, but a nephew when a

[1] In Madagascar 'first cousins 'are usually termed brother and 'sister, and uncles and aunts father 'and mother respectively; and it is 'only by asking distinctly of persons 'whether they are "of one father" 'or are "uterine brother and sister," 'that we learn the exact degree of 'relationship. These secondary fa- 'thers and mothers seem often to be 'regarded with little less affection 'than the actual parents.' —Sibree's Madagascar and its People, p. 192.

female is speaking; while a sister's son is a nephew when a male is speaking, but a son when a female is speaking. Lastly, brothers' grandchildren and sisters' grandchildren are called grandchildren.

This system, at first, strikes one as illogical and inconsistent. How can a person have more than one mother? How can a brother's son be a son, or an uncle's great-grandson a grandson? Again, while classing together several relationships which we justly separate, it distinguishes between elder and younger brothers and sisters; and in several cases the relationship depends on the sex of the speaker. Since, however, a similar system prevails over a very wide area, it cannot be dismissed as a mere arbitrary or accidental arrangement. The system is, moreover, far from being merely theoretical, in every-day use. Every member of the tribe knows his exact relationship to each other, according to this system; and this knowledge is kept up by the habit, general among the American tribes, and occurring also elsewhere—as, for instance, among the Esquimaux, the Tamils, Telugus, Chinese, Japanese, Fijians, &c.—of addressing a person, not by his name, but by his relationship. Among the Telugus and Tamils an elder may address a younger by name, but a younger must always use the term for relationship in speaking to an elder. This custom is, probably, connected with the curious superstitions about names; but, however it may have arisen, the result is that an Indian addresses his neighbour as 'my father,' 'my son,' or 'my brother,' as the case may be: if not related, he says 'my friend.'

Thus the system is kept up by daily use; nor is

it a mere mode of expression. Although, in many respects, opposed to the existing customs and ideas, it is, in some, entirely consonant with them : thus, among many of the Redskin tribes if a man marries the eldest girl in a family he can claim in marriage all the others as they successively come to maturity ; this custom exists among the Shyennes, Omahas, Iowas, Kaws, Osages, Blackfeet, Crees, Minnitarees, Crows, and other tribes. I have already mentioned that among the Redskins, generally, the mother's brother exercises a more than paternal authority over his sister's children. I shall have occasion to refer again to this remarkable exaggeration of avuncular authority.

Mr. Morgan was much surprised to find that a system more or less like that of the Wyandots was very general among the Redskins of North America ; but he was still more astonished to find that the Tamil races of India have one almost identical. A comparison of columns 8 and 9 in Table I. will show that this is the case, and the similarity is even more striking in Mr. Morgan's tables, where a larger number of relationships is given.

How, then, did this system arise? How is it to be accounted for? It is by no means consonant, in all respects, to the present social conditions of the races in question ; nor does it agree with tribal affinities. The American Indians generally follow the custom of exogamy, as it has been called by Mr. M'Lennan—that is to say, no one is permitted to marry within the clan ; and as descent goes in the female line, a man's brother's son, though called his son, belongs to a different clan ; while his sister's son does belong to the clan, though he

is regarded as a nephew, and consequently as less closely connected. Hence a man's nephew belongs to his clan, but his son belongs to a different clan.

Mr. Morgan discusses, at some length,[1] the conclusions to be drawn from the wide extension of this system over the American continent, and its presence also in India. 'The several hypotheses,' he says, 'of accidental 'concurrent invention, of borrowing from each other, 'and of spontaneous growth, are entirely inadequate.'[2] With reference to the hypothesis of independent development in disconnected areas, he observes that it pos- 'sesses both plausibility and force.' It has, therefore, he adds, 'been made a subject of not less careful study 'and reflection than the system itself. Not until after 'a patient analysis and comparison of its several forms 'upon the extended scale in which they are given in 'the tables, and not until after a careful consideration 'of the functions of the system, as a domestic institu- 'tion, and of the evidence of its mode of propagation 'from age to age, did these doubts finally give way, and 'the insufficiency of this hypothesis to account for the 'origin of the system many times over, or even a second 'time, became fully apparent.'

And again, 'if the two families—i.e. the Redskin 'and the Tamil—commenced on separate continents in 'a state of promiscuous intercourse, having such a 'system of consanguinity as this state would beget, of 'the character of which no conception can be formed, 'it would be little less than a miracle if both should 'develop the same system of relationship.'[3] He con-

[1] See, for instance, pp. 157, 392, 394, 421, 456, &c.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 495.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 505.

cludes, then, that it must be due to 'transmission with 'the blood from a common original source. If the four 'hypotheses named cover and exhaust the subject, and 'the first three are incapable of explaining the present 'existence of the system in the two families, then 'the fourth and last, if capable of accounting for its 'transmission, becomes transformed into an established 'conclusion.'[1]

That there is any near alliance between the Redskin and Tamil races would be an ethnological conclusion of great importance. It does not, however, seem to me to be borne out by the evidence. The Fijian system, with which the Tongan is almost identical, is very instructive in this respect, and scarcely seems to have received from Mr. Morgan the consideration which it merits. Now, columns 9, 10, and 11 of Table I. show that the Fijian, Tongan, and Australian systems are almost identical with the Tamil.[2] If, then, this similarity is, in the case of the Tamil, proof of close ethnological affinity between that race and the Redskins, it must equally be so in reference to the Fijians, the Tongans, and the Australians. It is, however, well known that these races belong to very distinct divisions of mankind, and any facts which prove similarity between these races, however interesting and important they may be as proofs of identity in human character and history, can obviously have no bearing on special ethnological affinities. Moreover, it seems clear, as I shall attempt presently to show, that the Tongans have not used their present system ever since their ancestors first

[1] *Ibid.* See also p. 497.

[2] In some parts, at any rate, of Australia the system appears to be very similar.

landed on the Pacific Islands, but that it has subsequently developed itself from a far ruder system, which is still in existence in many of the surrounding islands.

I may also observe that the Two-Mountain Iroquois, whose close ethnological affinity with the Wyandots no one will question, actually agree, as shown by columns 3 and 4 of Table I., more nearly with this ruder Pacific, or, as Morgan calls it, 'Malayan' system than they do with that of the neighbouring American tribes.

For these and other reasons, I think it impossible to adopt Mr. Morgan's views, either on the causes which have led to the existence of the Tamil system, or as to the ethnological conclusions which follow from it.

How, then, have these systems arisen, and how can we account for such remarkable similarities between races so distinct, and so distant, as the Wyandots, Tamils, Fijians, and Tongans? In illustration of my views on this subject, I have constructed the preceding table (Table I.), in which I have given the translation of the native words, and, when one word is used for several relationships, have translated it by the simplest. Thus, in Fijian, the word 'Tamanngu'—literally 'Tama my,' the suffix 'nngu' meaning 'my'—is applied, not only to a father, but to a father's brother; hence, as the father is the more important, we say that they call a father's brother a father.

In many cases the origins of the terms for relationships are undeterminable; I shall discuss some in a subsequent chapter. Others, however, have so far withstood the wear and tear of daily use as to be still traceable.

Thus, in Polish, the word for my great-uncle is,

literally, 'my cold grandfather;' the word for 'wife' among the Crees is 'part of myself;' that for husband, among the Choctas, is 'he who leads me;' a daughter-in-law among the Delawares is called 'Nah-hum,' literally, 'my cook;' for which ungracious expression, however, they make amends by their word for husband or wife, 'Wee-chaa-oke,' which is, literally, 'my aid 'through life.'

It might, *à priori*, be supposed that the nomenclature of relationships would be greatly affected by the question of male or female descent. This, however, does not appear to be the case. Under a system of female descent, combined with exogamy, a man must marry out of his tribe; and, as his children belong to their mother's tribe, it follows that a man's children do not belong to his tribe. On the other hand, a woman's children, whomsoever she may marry, belong to her tribe. Hence, while neither a man's nor his brother's children belong to the same tribe as himself, his sister's children must do so, and are, in consequence, often regarded as his heirs. In fact, for all practical purposes, among many of the Redskin and other tribes, a man's sister's sons are regarded as his children.

As we have already seen, this remarkable custom prevails, not only among the Redskins, but also in various other parts of the world. As regards the native tribes of North America, it may also be laid down as a general proposition that the mother's brother exercises more authority over his sister's children than does their father. He has a recognised right to any property they may acquire, if he choose to exercise it; he can give orders which a true father would not

venture to issue ; he arranges the marriages of his nieces, and is entitled to share in the price paid for them. The same custom prevails even among the semi-civilised races ; for instance, among the Choctas the uncle, not the father, sends a boy to school.

Yet among these very tribes a man's sister's son is called his nephew, while his brother's son is called his son.

Thus, although a man's mother's brother is called an uncle, he has, in reality, more power and responsibility than the true father. The true father is classed with the father's brother and the mother's sister ; but the mother's brother stands by himself, and, although he is called an uncle, he exercises the real parental power, and on him rests the parental responsibility. In fact, while the names of relationships follow the marriage customs, the ideas are guided by the tribal organisation. Hence we see that not only do the ideas of the several relationships, among the lower races of men, differ from ours ; but the idea of relationship, as a whole, is, so to say, embryonic, and subsidiary to that of the tribe.

In fact, the idea of relationship, like that of marriage, was founded, not upon duty, but upon power. Only with the gradual elevation of the race has the latter been subordinated to the former.

I have endeavoured to illustrate the various systems of relationships by Table I. (opposite p. 166), which begins with the Hawaiian, or Sandwich Island system.

The Hawaiian language is rich in terms for relationships. A grandparent is 'Kupuna,' a parent is

'Makua,' a child 'Kaikee,' a son-in-law, or daughter-in-law, is 'Hunona,' a grandchild 'Moopuna;' brothers in the plural are 'Hoahanau;' a brother-in-law, or sister-in-law, is addressed as 'Kaikoeke;' there are special words for brother and sister according to age and sex; thus, a boy speaking of an elder brother, and a girl speaking of an elder sister, use the term 'Kai-kuuana;' a boy speaking of a younger brother, or a girl of a younger sister, uses the word 'Kaikaina;' a boy speaking of a sister calls her 'Kaikuwahine,' while a sister calls a brother, whether older or younger, 'Kai-kuaana.' They also recognise some relationships for which we have no special terms; thus, an adopted son is 'Hanai;' the parents of a son-in-law, or daughter-in-law, are 'Puluna;' a man addresses his brother-in-law, and a woman her sister-in-law, as 'Punalua;' lastly, the word 'Kolea' has no corresponding term in English.

It will be observed that these relationships are conceived in a manner entirely unlike ours; we make no difference between an elder brother and a younger brother, nor does the term used depend on the sex of the speaker. The contrast between the two systems is, however, much more striking when we come to consider the deficiencies of the Hawaiian system, as indicated in the nomenclature. Thus, there is no word for cousin, none for uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, son or daughter; nay, while there is a word indicating parent, there is said to be none for father or even for mother.

The principal features of this interesting system, so elaborate, yet so rude, are indicated in the second column of Table I. I have already mentioned that there is no word for father or mother; for the latter

they say 'parent female,' for the former, 'parent male;' but the term 'parent male' is not confined to the true parent, but is applied equally to the father's brother and mother's brother; while the term 'parent female' denotes also father's sister and mother's sister. Thus, uncleships and auntships are ignored, and a child may have several fathers and several mothers. In the succeeding generation, as a man calls his brother's and sister's children his children, so do they regard him as their father. Again, as a mother's brother and a father's brother are termed 'parents male,' a mother's sister and father's sister, 'parents female,' their sons are regarded as brothers, and their daughters as sisters. Lastly, a man calls the children of these constructive brothers and sisters, equally with those of true brothers and sisters, his children; and their children, his grandchildren.

The term 'parent male,' then, denoted not only a man's father,

but also his	father's brother
and	mother's brother;

while the term 'parent female' in the same way denotes not only a man's mother,

but also his	mother's sister
and	father's sister.

There are, in fact, six classes of parents: three on the male side, and three on the female.

The term, 'my elder brother,' or 'younger brother,' as the case may be,[1] stands also for my

[1] Among the Australians, near Sydney, 'brothers and sisters speak 'of one another by titles that indicate 'relative age; that is, their words 'for brother and sister always involve 'the distinction of elder or younger.' —Ridley, Journ. Anthr. Inst., vol. xxvi. p. 266.

Mother's brother's son,
Mother's sister's son,
Father's brother's son,
Father's sister's son,

while their children, again, are all my grandchildren. Here there is a succession of generations, but no family. We find here no words for true fathers and mothers, uncles or aunts, nephews or nieces, but only

Grandparents,
Parents,
Brothers and sisters,
Children and
Grandchildren.

This nomenclature is actually in use, and so far from having become obsolete, being in Fiji combined with inheritance through females, and the custom of immediate inheritance, gives a nephew the right to take his mother's brother's property: a right which is frequently exercised, and never questioned, although apparently moderated by custom. It will very likely be said, that though the word 'son,' for instance, is used to include many who are really not sons, it by no means follows that a man should regard himself as equally related to all his so-called 'sons.' And this is true, but not in the manner which might have been *à priori* expected. For, as many among the lower races of men have the system of inheritance through females, it follows that they consider their sister's children to be in reality more nearly related to them, not only than their brother's children, but even than their very own children. Hence we see that these terms, son, father, mother, &c., which to us imply relationship, have not

strictly, in all cases, this significance, but rather imply the relative position in the tribe.

Additional evidence of this is afforded by the restrictions on marriage which follow the tribe, and not the terms. Thus the customs of a tribe may, and constantly do, forbid marriage with one set of constructive sisters or brothers, but not with another.

The system shown in column 2 is not apparently confined to the Sandwich Islands, but occurs also in other islands of the Pacific. Thus, the Kingsmill system, as shown in column 3, is essentially similar, though they have made one step in advance, having devised words for father and mother. Still, however, the same term is applied to a father's brother and a mother's brother as to a father: and to a father's sister and a mother's sister as to a mother; consequently, first cousins are still called brothers and sisters, and their children and grandchildren are called children and grandchildren.

The habits of the South Sea Islanders, the entire absence of privacy in their houses, their objection to sociable meals, and other points in their mode of life, have probably favoured the survival of a very rude system, though the nomenclature is not in accordance with their present social and family relations, but indicates a time when these were less developed than at present. We know as yet no other part of the world where the nomenclature of relationships is so primitive.

Yet a near approach is made by the system of the Two-Mountain Iroquois, which is, perhaps, the lowest yet observed in America. In this tribe a brother's children are still regarded as sons, and a woman calls

her sister's children her sons ; a man, however, does not regard his sister's children as his children, but distinguishes them by a special term ; they become his nephews. This distinction between relationships, which we regard as identical, has its basis in, and is in accordance with, American marriage customs. Unfortunately I have no means of ascertaining whether these rules prevail among the tribes in question, but they are so general among the Indians of North America that in all probability it is the case. One of these customs is that if a man marries a girl who has younger sisters, he thereby acquires a right to those younger sisters as they successively arrive at maturity.[1] This right is widely recognised, and frequently acted upon. The first wife makes no objection, for the work which fell heavily on her is divided with another, and it is easy to see that, when polygamy prevails, it would be uncomplimentary to refuse a wife who legally belonged to you. Hence a woman regards her sister's sons as her sons : they may be, in fact, the sons of her husband : any other hypothesis is uncomplimentary to the sister. Throughout the North American races, therefore, we shall find that a woman calls her sister's children her children ; in no case does she term them nephews or nieces, though in some few tribes she distinguishes them from her own children by calling them step-children.

Another general rule in America, as elsewhere, is that no one may marry within his own clan or family. It has been shown in the previous chapter that this rule is not only general in North America, but widely

[1] Archæol. Amer. vol. ii. p. 109.

prevalent elsewhere. The result is, that as a woman and her brother belong to one family, her husband must be chosen from another. Hence, while a man's father's brother and sister belong to his clan, and his mother's sister, being one of his father's wives, is a member of the family—one of the fire-circle, if I may so say—the mother's brother is necessarily neither a member of the fire-circle nor even of the clan. Hence, while a father's sister and mother's sister are called mother, and a father's brother father, in most of the Redskin tribes the marriage rules exclude the mother's brother, who is accordingly distinguished by a special term, and in fact is recognised as uncle. Thus we can understand how it is that of the six classes of parents mentioned above, the mother's brother is the first to be distinguished from the rest by a special name. It will, however, be seen by the table that among the Two-Mountain Iroquois a mother's brother's son is called brother, his grandson son, and so on. This shows that he also was once called 'father,' as in Polynesia, for in no other manner can such a system of nomenclature be accounted for. All the other relationships, as given in the table, are, it will be seen, identical with those recognised in the Hawaiian and Kingsmill systems. Thus, in two respects only, and two, moreover, which can be satisfactorily explained by their marriage regulations, do the Two-Mountain Iroquois differ from the Pacific system. It is true that these two points of difference involve some others not shown in the table. Thus, while a woman's father's sister's daughter's son is her son, a man's father's sister's daughter's son is his nephew, because his father's sister's daughter is his sister, and

his sister's son, as already explained, is his nephew. It should also be added that the Two-Mountain Iroquois show an advance, as compared with the Hawaiian system, in the terms relating to relationships by marriage.

The Micmac system, as shown in column 5, is in three points an advance on that of the Two-Mountain Iroquois. Not only does a man call his sister's son his nephew, but a woman applies the same term to her brother's son. Thus, men term their brother's sons 'sons,' and their sister's sons 'nephews;' while women, on the contrary, call their brother's sons 'nephews,' and their sister's sons 'sons;' obviously because there was a time when, though brothers and sisters could not marry, brothers might have their wives in common, while sisters, as we know, habitually married the same man. It is remarkable also that a father's brother and a mother's sister are also distinguished from the true father and mother. In this respect the Micmac system is superior to that prevailing in most other Redskin races. For the same reason, not only is a mother's brother termed an uncle, but the father's sister is no longer called a mother, being distinguished by a special term, and thus becomes an aunt. The social habits of the Redskins, which have already been briefly alluded to, sufficiently explain why the father's sister is thus distinguished, while the father's brother and mother's sister are still called respectively father and mother. Moreover, as we found among the Two-Mountain Iroquois that although the mother's brother is recognised as an uncle, his son is still called brother, thus pointing back to a time when the father's brother was still called

father ; so here we see that though the father's sister is called aunt, her son is still regarded as a brother ; indicating the existence of a time when, among the Micmacs, as among the Two-Mountain Iroquois, a father's sister was termed a mother. It follows as a consequence that, as a father's brother's son, a mother's brother's son, a father's sister's son, and a mother's sister's son, are considered to be brothers, their children are termed sons by the males ; but as a woman calls her brother's son a nephew, so she applies the same term to the sons of the so-called brothers.

If the system of relationship be subject to gradual growth, and approach step by step towards perfection, we should naturally expect that, from differences of habits and customs, the various advances would not among all races follow one another in precisely the same order. Of this the Micmacs and Wyandots afford us an illustration. While the latter have, on the whole, made most progress, the former are in advance on one point ; for though the Micmacs have distinguished a father's brother from a father, he is among the Wyandots still termed a father ; on the other hand, the Wyandots call a mother's brother's son a cousin, while among the Micmacs he is still termed a brother.

Here we may conveniently consider two Asiatic nations—the Burmese and the Japanese—which, though on the whole considerably more advanced in civilisation than any of the foregoing races, yet appear to be singularly backward in their systems of family nomenclature. I will commence with the Burmese. A mother's brother is called either father (great or little) or uncle ; his son is regarded as a brother ; his grandson as a nephew ;

his great-grandson as a grandson. A father's sister is an aunt; but her son is a brother, her grandson is a son, and her great-grandson a grandson. A father's brother is still a father (great or little); his son is a brother; his grandson a nephew; and his great-grandson a grandson. A mother's sister is a mother (great or little); her son is a brother; her grandson a nephew; and her great-grandson a grandson. Grandfathers' brothers and sisters are grandfathers and grandmothers. Brothers' and sisters' sons and daughters are recognised as nephews and nieces, whether the speaker is a male or female; but their children again are still classed as grandchildren.

Among the Japanese a mother's brother is called a 'second little father;' a father's sister a 'little mother' or 'aunt;' a father's brother a 'little father' or 'uncle;' and a mother's sister a 'little mother' or 'aunt.' The other relationships shown in the table are the same as among the Burmese.

The Wyandots, descendants of the ancient Hurons, are illustrated in the eighth column. Their system is somewhat more advanced than that of the Micmacs. While, among the latter, a mother's brother's son, and a father's sister's son, are called brothers, among the Wyandots they are recognised as cousins. The children of these cousins, however, are still by males called sons, thus reminding us that there was a time when these cousins were still regarded as brothers. A second mark of progress is, that women regard their mother's brother's grandsons as nephews, and not as sons, though the great-grandsons of uncles and aunts are still, in all cases, termed grandsons.

I crave particular attention to this system, which may be regarded as the typical system of the Redskins,[1] although, as we have seen, some tribes have a ruder nomenclature, and we shall presently allude to others which are rather more advanced. A mother's brother is termed uncle ; his son is a cousin ; his grandson is termed nephew when a woman is speaking, son in the case of a male. In either case, his grandson is termed grandson. A father's sister is an aunt, and her son a cousin ; but her grandson and great-grandson are termed, respectively, son and grandson, thus reminding us that there was a time when a father's sister was regarded as a mother. A father's brother is called father ; his son, brother ; his grandson, son ; and his great-grandson, grandson.

A mother's sister is a mother, her son is a brother, her grandson is called nephew by a female, son by a male ; her great-grandson is, in either case, called grandson. A grandfather's brother and sister are called grandfather and grandmother respectively.

A brother's son is called son by a male, and nephew by a female, while a sister's son is called nephew by a male, and son by a female, the reasons for which have been already explained.

Lastly, brothers' son's sons and daughters, sisters' son's sons and daughters, are all called grandsons and granddaughters. Thus we see that in every case the third generation returns to the direct line.

The two following columns represent the Tamil and

[1] The Peruvian system appears, from the vocabularies given in Mr. Clements Markham's Quichua Grammar and Dictionary, to have been very similar, in some of its most essential features, to that of the Wyandots.

Fijian systems, with which also that of the Tonga Islands very closely agrees. I have already called attention to this, and given my reasons for being unable to adopt the explanation suggested by Mr. Morgan.

It will be observed that the only differences shown in the table between the system of these races and that of the Wyandots, are, firstly, that the mother's brother's grandson is regarded among the Wyandots as a nephew by males, and as a son by females ; while in the Tamil and Fijian system the reverse is said to be the case, and he is termed son by males, and nephew by females. Secondly, that the father's sister's grandson is regarded as a son among the Wyandots, while in the Tamil and Fijian system he is, when an uncle is speaking, recognised as a nephew. The latter difference merely indicates that the Tamil and Fijian systems are slightly more advanced than the Wyandot. The other difference is more difficult to understand.

But though the Redskin, Tamil, and Fijian systems, differing as they do from ours in many ways, which at first seem altogether arbitrary and unaccountable, agree so remarkably with one another, we find, also, in some cases, remarkable differences among the Redskin races themselves. These differences affect principally the lines of the mother's brother and father's sister. This is natural. They are the first to be distinguished from true parents, and new means have, therefore, to be adopted to distinguish the relationships thus recognised. In several cases other old terms were tried, with very comical results. These modes of overcoming the difficulty were so unsatisfactory, that, by the time a father's sister's son was recognised as a

cousin, the necessity for the creation of new terms seems to have been generally felt.

Table II. shows, as regards fourteen tribes, the result of the attempt to distinguish these relationships. Taking, for instance, the line which gives the terms in use for a mother's brother's grandson, we find the following, viz. son, stepbrother, grandson, and grandchild, stepson, and uncle; in the case of a father's sister's grandson (male speaking), we have grandchild, son, stepson, brother, and father; when a female is speaking, grandchild, son, nephew, brother, and father. Thus, for this single relationship we find six terms in use, and a difference of three generations, viz. from grandfather to son. At first the use of such terms seems altogether arbitrary, but a further examination will show that this is by no means the case.

Column 2 gives the system of the Redknives, one of the most backward tribes on the American continent as regards their nomenclature of relationships. Here, though a mother's brother and a father's sister are, respectively, uncle and aunt, their children are regarded as brothers, their grandchildren as sons, and their great-grandchildren as grandsons. The Munsee system shows a slight advance. Here, though the women call their sister's sons their sons, the males, on the contrary, term them nephews, and, consequently, apply the same term to their mother's brother's daughter's son, and their father's sister's daughter's son; because, as in the preceding case, mother's brother's daughters, and father's sisters daughters, are termed sisters. The Micmacs (column 3) show another step in advance. Here, not only does a man call his sister's son nephew,

but, in addition, a woman applies the same term to her brother's son ; consequently, not only a mother's brother's daughter's son, if a male is speaking, but a mother's brother's son's son, if a female is speaking, and the corresponding relations on the side of the father's sister, are termed nephews.

Among the Delawares a mother's brother's son, and father's sister's son, are distinguished from true brothers by a term corresponding to 'stepbrother.' They appear to have also felt the necessity of distinguishing a stepbrother's son from a true son ; but, having no special term, they retain the same word, thus calling a stepbrother's son a stepbrother. This principle, as we shall see, is followed by several other tribes, and has produced the most striking inconsistencies shown in the table. We find it again among the Crows, where a father's sister is called mother, her daughter again, mother ; but as her son cannot of course be a mother, he is called 'father.' The same system is followed by the Pawnees, as shown in columns 7 and 8 ; and the Grand Pawnees carry it a generation lower, and call their father's sister's grandson on the male side 'father ;' a father's sister's daughter's son is, however, called a brother. Among the Cherokees we find this principle most thoroughly carried out, and a father's sister's grandson is also called a father. This case is the more interesting, because the circumstance which produced the system is no longer in existence ; for, as will be seen, a father's sister is called an aunt. It is not at first obvious that a father's sister being called a mother would account for her son being called a father ; but, with the Crow and Pawnee systems before us, we see that the Cherokees

could not call their father's sister's sons 'fathers,' unless there had been a time when a father's sister was regarded as a mother.

The Hare Indians supply us with a case in which, mother's brothers and father's sisters being distinguished from fathers and mothers, their children are no longer termed brothers, but are distinguished as cousins; while their grandchildren and great-grandchildren, on the contrary, are still termed sons and grandsons.

So far as the relationships shown in the table are concerned, the system of the Omahas, and of the Sawks and Foxes, is identical. A mother's brother is an uncle, and, for the reason already pointed out in the case of the Delawares, his sons and son's sons, and even son's grandsons, are also termed grandsons. His daughter's sons, on the contrary, retain the old name of brother. A father's sister is an aunt, her children are nephews, and the descendants of these nephews are grandchildren.

Among the Oneidas, a father's brother is an uncle, and his son is a cousin; his son's sons, however, are still sons. His daughter's son is a son, when a female is speaking; but, for the reason already explained in the case of the Munsees, males term them nephews. The relationships connected with a father's sister are dealt with in a similar manner, except that a father's sister is still called mother.

The Otawa system resembles the Micmac, and is formed on the same plan, being, however, somewhat more advanced, inasmuch as the children of uncles and aunts are recognised as cousins, and a man calls his cousin's son, not his son, but his stepson. The Ojibwa

system is the same, except that a woman also calls her mother's brother's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son, her stepson, instead of her son. In some of the relationships by marriage the same causes have led to even more striking differences. Thus, a woman generally calls her father's sister's daughter's husband her brother-in-law ; but among the Missouri and Mississippi nations her son-in-law ; among the Minnitarees, the Crows, and some of the Chocta clans, her father ; among the Cherokees, her step-parent ; the Republican Pawnees, and some of the Choctas, her grandfather ; and among the Tukuthes, her grandson !

Having thus pointed out the curious results to which some of the lower races have been led in their attempts to distinguish relationships, and endeavoured to explain those shown in Table II., I will now return to the main argument.

The Kaffir (Amazulu) system is given in column 12, Table I. Here, for the first time, we find the father's brother regarded as an uncle, and the mother's sister as an aunt. In other respects, however, the system is not more advanced than the Tamil, Fijian, or Wyandot. The mother's brother is called uncle ;[1] his son, cousin ; his grandson, son ; and his great-grandson, grandchild. A father's sister, quaintly enough, is called father, the Kaffir word for which, *ubaba*, closely resembles ours. His son, however, is called brother ; his grandson, accordingly, son ; his great-grandson, grandchild. A father's brother, as already mentioned, is uncle ; but, as before, his son is called brother ; his

[1] It is, however, significant that he calls his sister's sons 'sons,' and not nephews.

grandson, son ; and his great-grandson, grandson. So, also, a mother's sister is an aunt, but her son is a brother ; her grandson, a son ; and her great-grandson, a grandson. As in all the preceding cases, grandfathers' brothers and sisters are considered as, respectively, grandfathers and grandmothers. Brothers' sons and sisters' sons are called sons, and, lastly, their sons again are grandsons.

Excepting in the case of nephews, this system, therefore, closely resembles the Tamil, Fijian, and Wyandot ; the other principal differences being a more correct nomenclature of uncles and aunts.

Column 13, Table I., exhibits the nomenclature in use among the Mohegans, whose name signifies 'sea-side people,' from their geographical position on the Hudson and the Connecticut. They belong to the great Algonkin stock. Here, for the first time, a distinction is introduced between a father and a father's brother. The latter, however, is not recognised as an uncle ; that is to say, a father's brother and a mother's brother are not regarded as equivalent relationships, but the former is termed stepfather. This distinguishing prefix is the characteristic feature ; and, as will be seen, we find the terms stepmother, stepbrother, and stepchild (to the exclusion of cousin), as natural consequences of the stepfathership. Still, the mother's sister remains a mother, and her son a brother ; and the derivation of this system from one similar to those already considered is, moreover, indicated by the fact that the members of the third generation are still regarded as grandchildren.

The Crees and the Ojibwas, or Chippewas (of Lake

Michigan), who also belong to the great Algonkin stock, resemble the Mohegan in the use, though with some minor differences, of the prefix 'step-', a device which occurs also in a more complicated form among the Chinese. In some points, however, they are rather more advanced, and, in fact, these tribes possess the highest system of relationship yet recorded among the Redskins of North America. A mother's brother is an uncle, and his son is a cousin ; as regards his grandson, the tendency to the use of different terms, according as the speaker is a male or female, shows itself in the use by the former of the term stepson, where the latter say nephew as in some of the ruder tribes. In both cases, mothers' brothers' great-grandchildren are called grandchildren. A father's sister is an aunt, and the nomenclature with reference to her descendants is the same as in the case of the mother's brother. A father's brother is a stepbrother ; his son is still called a brother by males among the Crees, but is called stepson by the Ojibwas ; the other relationships in this line being the same as in the case of the mother's brother and father's sister.

No Redskin regards his mother's sister as an aunt ; but the Crees and Ojibwas distinguish her from a true mother by the term stepmother, and her descendants are addressed by the same terms as those of the father's brother. The grandfather's brothers and sisters are called grandfathers and grandmothers. As before, brothers' sons, when a female is speaking, and sisters' sons, when a male is speaking, are called nephews ; while brothers' sons, when a male is speaking, and sisters' sons, when a female is speaking, are no longer

regarded as true sons, but are distinguished as stepsons. The grandchildren of these nephews and stepsons are, however, all termed grandchildren.

If, now, we compare this system with that of the Two-Mountain Iroquois, we find that out of twenty-eight relationships given in the table only ten have remained the same. Of these, two are indicative of progress made by the Two-Mountain Iroquois—namely, the term for mother's brother and sister's son; the other eight are marks of imperfection still remaining in the Ojibwa nomenclature: points, moreover, not by any means characteristic of American races, but common, also, as we have seen, to the Hawaiian, Kingsmill, Burmese, Japanese, Tongan, Fijian, Kaffir, and Tamil systems; as we shall also find, to the Hindi, Karen, and Esquimaux; in fact, to almost all, if not all, barbarous peoples, and even to some of the more advanced races.

Column 14, Table I., shows the system of nomenclature as it exists in Hindi, and it may be added that the Bengali, Marathi, and Gujerathi are essentially the same, although the words differ. All these languages are said to be Sanskrit as regards their words; aboriginal, on the contrary, in their grammar. Hindi contains 90% of Sanskrit words, Gujerathi as much as 95%. With three or four exceptions, it appears that the terms for relationship may be all of Sanskrit origin.

Here, for the first time, we find that a brother's son and a sister's son are termed nephews, whether the speaker is a male or a female. Yet nephews' children are still termed grandchildren. Again, for the first time, the mother's brother, father's brother, mother's

sister, and father's sister are regarded as equivalent, and the terms for their descendants are similar. The two former—i.e. mother's brother and father's brother, are termed 'uncles;' the two latter—i.e. mother's sister and father's sister, are called 'aunts.' Yet, as regards the next generations, the system is less advanced than the Ojibwa, for uncles' sons and aunts' sons are termed brothers; their grandsons, nephews; and their great-grandsons, grandsons. It should, however, be observed that, in the first three languages, viz. the Hindi, Bengali, and Marathi, besides the simple term 'brother,' the terms 'brother through paternal uncle,' 'brother through paternal aunt,' 'brother through maternal uncle,' and 'brother through maternal aunt,' are also in use, and are less cumbersome than our English literal translation would indicate. The system, therefore, is transitional on this point. Lastly, a grandfather's brother is called 'grandfather;' a grandfather's sister, 'grandmother.'

The Karens are a rude, but peaceful and teachable race, inhabiting parts of Tenasserim, Burmah, Siam, and extending into the southern parts of China. They have been encroached upon and subjected by more powerful races, and are now divided into different tribes, speaking different dialects, of which three are given in Mr. Morgan's tables. Though rude and savage in their mode of life, they are described as extremely moral in their social relations—praise which seems to be corroborated by their system of relationships, as shown in column 17, Table I.

Column 18 shows the system of another rude people, belonging to a distinct family of the human

race, and inhabiting a distant and very different part of the world. Like the Karens, the Esquimaux are a rude people, but, like them, they are a quiet, peaceable, and moral race. No doubt on some points their ideas differ from ours ; their condition does not admit of much refinement—of any great advance in science or art. They cannot be said to have any religion worthy of the name, yet there is, perhaps, no more moral people on the face of the earth ; none among whom there is less crime ; and it is, perhaps, not going too far to say that there is, as far as I can judge, no race of men which has more fully availed itself of its opportunities.

It is most remarkable to find that these two races of men, so distinct, so distant, so dissimilar in their modes of life, without a word in common, yet use systems of relationship which, in their essential features, are identical, although by no means in harmony with the existing social condition : in both, uncles and aunts are correctly recognised, and their children regarded as cousins ; their grandchildren, however, are termed nephews, and the children of these so-called nephews are classed, as in all the previous cases, as grandchildren. Thus, out of the twenty-eight relationships indicated in the table, the Karens and Esquimaux agree with us in twelve, and differ in sixteen. As regards every one, however, of these sixteen they agree with one another, while in eight they follow the same system as every other race which we have been considering.

These facts cannot be the result of chance ; there is one way, and, as it seems to me, one way only, of accounting for them, and that is by regarding them as the outcome of a progressive development, such as

that which I have endeavoured to sketch. An examination of the several cases will, I think, confirm this view.

The Karen-Esquimaux system is inconsistent with itself in three respects, and precisely where it differs from ours. The children of cousins are termed nephews, which they are not; the children of nephews are regarded as grandchildren, and a grandfather's brothers and sisters are termed, respectively, grandfathers and grandmothers.

The first fact—namely, that a mother's brother's grandsons, and a mother's sister's grandsons, a father's sister's grandsons, and a father's brother's grandsons, are all termed 'nephews'—clearly points to the existence of a time when a mother's brother and a father's brother were regarded as fathers, a mother's sister and a father's sister as mothers, and their children, consequently, as brothers. The second—namely, that the great-grandchildren of uncles and aunts are regarded as grandchildren—similarly points to a time when nephews and nieces were termed, and regarded as, sons and daughters, and their children, consequently, as grandchildren. Lastly, why should grandfathers' brothers and grandfathers' sisters be called grandfathers and grandmothers, unless there was a time when fathers' brothers and sisters were respectively called 'fathers' and 'mothers:' unless the Karens and Esquimaux once had a system of relationship similar to that which still prevails among so many barbarous tribes, and which, to all appearance, has been gradually modified? Hence, though the Karens and Esquimaux have now a far more correct system of nomenclature than that of many other races,

we find, even in this, clear traces of a time when these peoples had not advanced in this respect beyond the lowest stage.

As already mentioned, the European nations follow, almost without exception, a strictly descriptive system, founded on the marriage of single pairs. The principle is, however, departed from in a few rare cases, and in them we find an approach to the Karen-Esquimaux system. Thus, in Spanish, a brother's great-grandson is called 'grandson.' Again, in Bulgarian, a brother's grandson and sister's grandson are called 'Mal vnook mi,' literally 'little grandson my.' A father's father's sister is termed a grandmother, and a father's father's brother a grandfather, as is also the case in Russian. The French and Sanskrit, alone, so far as I know, among the Aryan languages, have special words for elder and younger brother. Among Aryan races the Romans and the Germans alone developed a term for cousin,[1] and we ourselves have, even now, no word for a cousin's son. The history of the term 'nephew' is also instructive. The word 'nepos,' says Morgan,[2] 'among the Romans, as late as the fourth century, was 'applied to a nephew as well as a grandson, although 'both "avus" and "avunculus" had come into use. 'Eutropius, in speaking of Octavianus, calls him the 'nephew of Cæsar, "Cæsaris nepos." (Lib. vii. c. i.) 'Suetonius speaks of him as "sororis nepos" (Cæsar, 'c. lxxxiii.), and afterwards (Octavianus, c. vii.) de-'scribes Cæsar as his great-uncle, "major avunculus,"

[1] So that of many nations it may be said, literally as well as figuratively, that 'les nations n'ont pas de cousins.'

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 35.

'in which he contradicts himself. When "nepos" was 'finally restricted to grandson, and thus became a strict 'correlative of "avus," the Latin language was with- 'out a term for nephew, whence the descriptive phrase, '"Fratris vel sororis filius." In English, "nephew" 'was applied to grandson, as well as nephew, as late as '1611, the period of King James's translation of the 'Bible. Niece is so used by Shakspeare in his will, in 'which he describes his granddaughter, Susannah Hall, 'as "my niece."'

So that even among the most advanced races we find some lingering confusion about nephews, nieces, and grandchildren.

Thus, then, we have traced these systems of relationships from the simple and rude nomenclature of the Sandwich Islanders up to the far purer and more correct terminology of the Karens and Esquimaux. I have endeavoured to show that the systems indicated are explicable only on the theory of a gradual improvement and elevation, and are incompatible with degradation; that as the valves indicate the course of the blood in our veins, so do the terms applied to relationships point out the course of past history. In the first place, the moral condition of the lower races, wherever we can ascertain it, is actually higher than that indicated by the phraseology in use; and, secondly, the systems themselves are, in almost all cases, inexplicable, except on the hypothesis that they were themselves preceded by still ruder ones.

Take, for instance, the case of the Two-Mountain Iroquois; they call a mother's brother an uncle, but his son they regard as a brother. This is no accident, for

the idea is carried out in the other relationships, and occurs also in other races. On the theory of progress it is easily accounted for: if a father's brother was previously called a father, his son would, of course, be a brother; and when the father's brother came to be distinguished as an uncle some time would, no doubt, often elapse before the other changes, consequent on this step, would be effected. But how could such a system be accounted for on the opposite theory? How could a father's brother's son come to be regarded as a brother, if a father's brother had always been termed an uncle? The sequence of terms for the relationships connected with a father's sister, on the two hypotheses of progress on the one hand, and degradation on the other, may be illustrated as in the Table III. (p. 204).

In the first, or lowest stage, the sequence is mother, brother, son, grandson, as in the Sandwich and Two-Mountain Iroquois system. In the next stage, the mother's sister being recognised as an aunt, and the other relationships remaining the same, we have the sequence, aunt, brother, son, grandson, as among the Micmacs. When a brother's son becomes a nephew we have aunt, brother, nephew, grandson, as in the Burmese, Japanese, and Hindi systems. In the next stage, an aunt's son being distinguished as a cousin, we have aunt, cousin, nephew, grandson, as among the Tamils and Fijians. The last two stages would be aunt, cousin, aunt's grandson, grandson; and, lastly, aunt, cousin, aunt's grandson, aunt's great-grandson. Thus, out of these six stages, five at least actually exist.

On the other hand, on the theory of retrogression,

we should commence with the highest system : namely, aunt, cousin, aunt's grandson, and aunt's great-grandson. The second stage would be, mother, cousin, aunt's grandson, aunt's great-grandson. The third, mother, brother, aunt's grandson, aunt's great-grandson. The fourth, mother, brother, nephew, aunt's great-grandson. The fifth, mother, brother, son, aunt's great-grandson. And the last, mother, brother, son, grandson. Thus, it will be observed that, except, of course, the first and last, they have not a stage in common ; and, though there may be some doubt whether the sequence suggested on the second hypothesis is the one which would be followed, it cannot be maintained that we could ever have the systems which would occur in the case of progress as shown in Table III., and the first four of which are actually in existence.

Whenever, then, the son or daughter of an uncle, or aunt, is termed a brother, as in the case of seven of the races referred to in the table, we may be sure that there was once a time when that uncle, or aunt, was termed a father or mother ; whenever a cousin's son is termed a son, as again in seven races, we must infer, not only that those cousins were once regarded as brothers, but that brothers' sons were once termed sons. Again, when great-uncles and aunts are termed grandfathers and grandmothers—when great-nephews and nieces are termed grandchildren, as in the case of all the races we have been considering—we have, I submit, good reason to infer that those races must once have had a system of nomenclature as rude as that of the Hawaiians or Kingsmill Islanders.

But it may be asked : admitting that the seventeen

races, illustrated in Table I., are really advancing, are there not cases of the contrary ? The answer is clear : out of the 139 races whose systems of relationship are more or less completely given by Mr. Morgan, there is not one in which evidence of degradation is thus indicated. To show this clearly and concisely, I have prepared the following table (p. 201). It will be seen that, taking merely the relation of uncles and aunts with reference to their children, there are 207 cases indicating progress. On the other hand, there are four cases, the Cayuda, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawks, among whom, while a father's sister is called a mother, her son is called a cousin. These cases, however, are neutralised by the fact that the sons of these cousins are called sons. We have, therefore, a very large body of evidence indicating progress, and collected among very different races of men, while there appear to be none which favour the opposite hypothesis.

In the preceding chapter, I have endeavoured to show that relationship is, at first, regarded as a matter, not of blood, but of tribal organisation ; that it is, in the second stage, traced through the mother ; in the third, through the father ; and that only in the fourth stage is the idea of family constituted as amongst ourselves. To obtain clear and correct ideas on this subject, it is necessary to know the laws and customs of various races. The nomenclature alone would, in many cases, lead us into error, and, in fact, has often done so. When checked by a knowledge of the tribal rules and customs, it is, however, most interesting and instructive. From this point of view especially, Mr. Morgan's work is of great value. It has been seen, however, that I differ greatly

Mother's brother, called uncle, With Mother's brother's son, called brother.	14	Do., do., Mother's brother's grandson = son.	23	Do., do., Do., do., great-grandson = grandson.	54
DEGRADATION.					
Mother's brother, called father, With Mother's brother's son, called cousin.	0	Do., do., Do., do., grandson = cousin.	0	Do., do., Do., do., great-grandson = cousin. = nephew.	0 0
PROGRESS.					
Father's sister = aunt, With Father's sister's son = brother.	11	Do., do., Do., do., grandson = son.	21	Do., do., Do., do., do., do. = grandson.	62
DEGRADATION.					
Father's sister = mother, With Father's sister's son = cousin.	4	Do., do., Do., do., grandson = cousin.	0	Do., do., Do., do., do., do. = cousin. = nephew.	0 0
PROGRESS.					
Father's brother = uncle, With Father's brother's son = brother.	4	Do., do., Do., do., grandson = son.	0	Do., do., Do., do., do., do. = grandson.	7
DEGRADATION.					
Father's brother = father, With Father's brother's son = cousin.	0	Do., do., Do., do., grandson = cousin.	0	Do., do., Do., do., do., do. = cousin. = nephew.	0 0
PROGRESS.					
Mother's sister = aunt, With Mother's sister's son = brother.	4	Do., do., Do., do., grandson = son.	0	Do., do., Do., do., do., do. = grandson.	7
DEGRADATION.					
Mother's sister = mother, With Mother's sister's son = cousin.	0	Do., do., Do., do., grandson = cousin.	0	Do., do., Do., do., do., do. = cousin. = nephew.	0 0
Totals . . .	33 – 4 = 29		44		130

Grand total . . . 207 indicating progress.

from him as to the conclusions to be drawn from the facts which he has so diligently collected.

Of course, I do not deny that these facts may, in some cases, indicate ethnological affinities; but they have not, I think, so great an importance in solving questions of ethnological relationships as he supposes. I do not, however, in any way, undervalue their importance; they afford a striking evidence in favour of the doctrine of development, and are thus a very interesting and important contribution to the great problem of human history.

Mainly from the materials which he has so laboriously collected, and for which ethnologists owe him an immense debt of gratitude, I have endeavoured to show:

Firstly, that the terms for, what we call, relationships, are, among the lower races of men, mere expressions for the results of marriage customs, and do not comprise the idea of relationship as we understand it; that, in fact, the connection of individuals *inter se*, their duties to one another, their rights, and the descent of their property, are all regulated more by the relation to the tribe than by that to the family; that, when the two conflict, the latter must give way.

Secondly, that the nomenclature of relationships is, in all the cases yet collected, explainable in a clear and simple manner on the hypothesis of progress.

Thirdly, that while two races in the same state of social condition, but of which the one has risen from the lowest known system, the other sunk from the highest, would, necessarily, have a totally different system of nomenclature for relationships, we have not a single instance of such a system as would result from the latter hypothesis.

Fourthly, that some of those races which approximate most nearly to our European system differ from it upon points only explainable on the hypothesis that they were once in a much lower social condition than they are at present.

Table III.—Systems of Relationship upon Theory of Progress.

	First Stage *	Second Stage †	Third Stage ‡	Fourth Stage §	Fifth Stage	Sixth Stage ‖
Father's sister . . .	Mother.	Aunt.	Aunt.	Aunt.	Aunt.	Aunt.
„ „ son . .	Brother.	Brother.	Brother.	Cousin.	Cousin.	Cousin.
„ „ „ son . .	Son.	Son.	Nephew.	Nephew.	Aunt's grandson.	Aunt's grandson.
„ „ „ „ son .	Grandson.	Grandson.	Grandson.	Grandson.	Grandson.	Aunt's great-grandson.

* This is the system of the Sandwich Islands, Kingsmill Islands, Two-Mountain Iroquois, &c.
† System of the Micmacs.
‡ This is the system of the Burmese, Japanese, Hindi.
§ This is the Tamil and Fijian systems.
‖ Our system.

Systems of Relationship upon Theory of Degradation.

	First Stage	Second Stage	Third Stage	Fourth Stage	Fifth Stage	Sixth Stage
Father's sister . . .	Aunt.	Mother.	Mother.	Mother.	Mother.	Mother.
„ „ son . .	Cousin.	Cousin.	Brother.	Brother.	Brother.	Brother.
„ „ „ son . .	Aunt's grandson.	Aunt's grandson.	Aunt's grandson.	Nephew.	Son.	Son.
„ „ „ „ son .	Aunt's great-grandson.	Aunt's great-grandson.	Aunt's great-grandson.	Aunt's great-grandson.	Aunt's grandson.	Grandson.

Excepting of course the first and last, none of these systems exist so far as I am aware.

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGION.

THE religion of savages, though of peculiar interest, is in many respects perhaps the most difficult part of my whole subject. I shall endeavour to avoid, as far as possible, anything which might justly give pain to any of my readers. Many ideas, however, which have been, or are, prevalent on religious matters, are so utterly opposed to our own that it is impossible to discuss the subject without mentioning some things which are very repugnant to our feelings. Yet, while savages show us a melancholy spectacle of gross superstitions and ferocious forms of worship, the religious mind cannot but feel a peculiar satisfaction in tracing up the gradual evolution of more correct ideas and of nobler creeds.

As a general rule savages do not set themselves to think out such questions, but adopt the ideas which suggest themselves most naturally ; so that, as I shall attempt to show, races in a similar state of mental development, however distinct their origin may be, and however distant the regions they inhabit, have very similar religious conceptions. Most of those who have endeavoured to account for the various superstitions of savage races have done so by crediting them with a much more elaborate system of ideas than they in

reality possess. Thus Lafitau supposes that fire was worshipped because it so well represents 'cette suprême 'intelligence dégagée de la nature, dont la puissance 'est toujours active.'[1] Again, with reference to idols, he observes[2] that 'la dépendance que nous avons de 'l'imagination et des sens ne nous permettant pas de 'voir Dieu autrement qu'en énigme, comme parle Saint 'Paul, a causé une espèce de nécessité de nous le 'montrer sous des images sensibles, lesquelles fussent 'autant de symboles, qui nous élevassent jusqu'à lui, 'comme le portrait nous remet dans l'idée de celui 'dont il est la peinture.' Plutarch, again, supposed that the crocodile was worshipped by Egypt because, having no tongue, it was a type of the Deity who made laws for nature by his mere will! Explanations, however, such as these are radically wrong.

I have felt doubtful whether this chapter should not be entitled 'the superstitions' rather than 'the re-'ligion' of savages; but have preferred the latter partly because many of the superstitious ideas pass gradually into nobler conceptions, and partly from a reluctance to condemn any honest belief, however absurd and imperfect it may be. It must, however, be admitted that religion, as understood by the lower savage races, differs essentially from ours; nay, it is not only different, but even opposite. Thus, it is an affair of this world, not of the next. Their deities are evil, not good; they may be forced into compliance with the wishes of man; they generally require bloody, and often rejoice in human, sacrifices; they are mortal, not immortal; a part, not the authors, of nature; they are to be ap-

[1] Mœurs des Sauvages Américains, vol. i. p. 152. [2] *Loc. cit.* p. 121.

proached by dances rather than by prayers ; and often approve what we call vice, rather than what we esteem as virtue.

In fact, the so-called religion of the lower races bears somewhat the same relation to religion in its higher forms that astrology does to astronomy, or alchemy to chemistry. Astronomy is derived from astrology, yet their spirit is in entire opposition ; and we shall find the same difference between the religions of backward and of advanced races. We regard the Deity as good ; they look upon him as evil ; we submit ourselves to him ; they endeavour to obtain the control of him ; we feel the necessity of accounting for the blessings by which we are surrounded ; they think the blessings come of themselves, and attribute all evil to the interference of malignant beings.

These characteristics are not exceptional and rare. On the contrary, I shall attempt to show that, though the religions of the lower races have received different names, they agree in their general characteristics, and are but phases of one sequence, having the same origin, and passing through similar, if not identical, stages. This will explain the great similarities which occur in the most distinct and distant races, which have puzzled many ethnologists, and in some cases led them to utterly untenable theories. Thus, even Robertson, though in many respects he held very correct views as to the religious condition of savages, remarks that Sun-worship prevailed among the Natchez and the Persians, and observes : [1]—' This surprising coincidence in senti-' ment between two nations in such different states of

[1] History of America, book iv. p. 127.

'improvement is one of the many singular and unac-
'countable circumstances which occur in the history of
'human affairs.'

Although, however, we find the most remarkable coincidences between the religions of distinct races, one of the peculiar difficulties in the study of religion arises from the fact that, while each nation has generally but one language, we may almost say that in religious matters, *quot homines tot sententiæ* ; no two men having exactly the same views, however much they may wish to agree.

Many travellers have pointed out this difficulty. Thus, Captain Cook, speaking of the South Sea islanders,[1] says :—'Of the religion of these people we
'were not able to acquire any clear and consistent
'knowledge ; we found it like the religion of most other
'countries—involved in mystery and perplexed with
'apparent inconsistencies.' Many also of those to whom we are indebted for information on the subject, fully expecting to find among savages ideas like our own, obscured only by errors and superstition, have put leading questions, and thus got misleading answers. We constantly hear, for instance, of a Devil ; but, in fact, no spiritual being in the mythology of any savage races possesses the characteristics of Satan. Again, it is often very difficult to determine in what sense an object is worshipped. A mountain, or a river, for instance, may be held sacred either as an actual Deity or merely as his abode ; and in the same way a statue may be actually worshipped as a god, or merely reverenced as representing the Divinity.

[1] Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 237.

To a great extent, moreover, these difficulties arise from the fact that when man, either by natural progress or the influence of a more advanced race, rises to the conception of a higher religion, he still retains his old beliefs, which long linger on, side by side with, and yet in utter opposition to, the higher creed. The new and more powerful Spirit is an addition to the old Pantheon, and diminishes the importance of the older deities; gradually the worship of the latter sinks in the social scale, and becomes confined to the ignorant and the young. Thus, a belief in witchcraft still flourishes among our agricultural labourers and the lowest classes in our great cities; and the deities of our ancestors survive in the nursery tales of our children. We must therefore expect to find in each race traces—nay, more than traces—of lower religions. Even if this were not the case, we should still be met by the difficulty that there are few really sharp lines in religious systems. It might be supposed that a belief in the immortality of the soul, or in the efficacy of sacrifices, would give us good lines of division; but it is not so: these, and many other ideas, rise gradually, and even often appear at first in a form very different from that which they ultimately assume.

Hitherto it has been usual to classify religions according to the nature of the object worshipped: Fetichism, for instance, being the worship of inanimate objects, Sabæism that of the heavenly bodies. The true test, however, seems to me to be the estimate in which the Deity is held. The first great stages in religious thought may, I think, be regarded as—

Atheism; understanding by this term not a denial of

the existence of a Deity, but an absence of any definite ideas on the subject.

Fetichism ; the stage in which man supposes he can force the deities to comply with his desires.

Nature-worship or *Totemism* ; in which natural objects, trees, lakes, stones, animals, &c., are worshipped.

Shamanism ; in which the superior deities are far more powerful than man, and of a different nature. Their place of abode also is far away, and accessible only to Shamans.

Idolatry, or *Anthropomorphism* ; in which the gods take still more completely the nature of men, being, however, more powerful. They are still amenable to persuasion ; they are a part of nature, and not creators. They are represented by images or idols.

In the next stage the Deity is regarded as the author, not merely a part of nature. He becomes for the first time a really supernatural being.

The last stage to which I will refer is that in which morality is associated with religion.

Since the above was written, my attention has been called by De Brosse's 'Culte des Dieux fétiches' to a passage in Sanchoniatho, quoted by Eusebius. From his description of the first thirteen generations of men I extract the following passages :—

Generation 1.—The 'first men consecrated the plants 'shooting out of the earth, and judged them gods, 'and worshipped them, upon whom they themselves 'lived.'

Gen. 2.—The second generation of men 'were called 'Genus and Genea, and dwelt in Phœnicia ; but when

'great droughts came, they stretched their hands up 'to heaven towards the Sun, for him they thought the 'only Lord of Heaven.'

Gen. 3.—Afterwards other mortal issue was begotten, whose names were Phos, Pur, and Phlox (i.e. Light, Fire, and Flame). These found out the way of generating fire by the rubbing of pieces of wood against each other, and taught men the use thereof.

Gen. 4.—The fourth generation consists of giants.

Gen. 5.—With reference to the fifth he mentions the existence of communal marriage, and that Usous 'consecrated *two pillars* to Fire and Wind, and bowed 'down to them, and poured out to them the blood of 'such wild beasts as had been caught in hunting.'

Gen. 6.—Hunting and fishing are invented; which seems rather inconsistent with the preceding statement.

Gen. 7.—Chrysor, whom he affirms to be Vulcan, discovered iron and the art of forging. 'Wherefore he 'also was worshipped after his death for a god, and they 'called him Diamichius (or Zeus Michius).'

Gen. 8.—Pottery was discovered.

Gen. 9.—Now comes Agrus, 'who had a much-'worshipped statue, and a temple carried about by one 'or more yoke of oxen in Phœnicia.'

Gen. 10.—Villages were formed, and men kept flocks.

Gen. 11.—Salt was discovered.

Gen. 12.—Taautus or Hermes discovered letters. The Cabiri belong to this generation.

Thus, then, we find mentioned in order the worship of plants, heavenly bodies, pillars, and men; later still comes Idolatry coupled with Temples. It will be

observed that Sanchoniatho makes no special mention of Shamanism, and that he regards the worship of plants as aboriginal.

The opinion that religion is general and universal has been entertained by many high authorities. Yet it is opposed to the evidence of numerous trustworthy observers. Sailors, traders, and philosophers, Roman Catholic priests and Protestant missionaries, in ancient and in modern times, in every part of the globe, have concurred in stating that there are races of men altogether devoid of religion. The case is the stronger because in several instances the fact has greatly surprised him who records it, and has been entirely in opposition to all his preconceived views. On the other hand, it must be confessed that in some cases travellers denied the existence of religion merely because the tenets were unlike ours. The question as to the general existence of religion among men is, indeed, to a great extent a matter of definition. If the mere sensation of fear, and the recognition that there are probably other beings more powerful than oneself, are sufficient alone to constitute a religion, then we must, I think, admit that religion is general to the human race. But when a child dreads the darkness, and shrinks from a lightless room, we never regard that as an evidence of religion. Moreover, if this definition be adopted, we can no longer regard religion as peculiar to man. We must admit that the feeling of a dog or a horse towards its master is of the same character; and the baying of a dog to the moon is as much an act of worship as some ceremonies which have been so described by travellers.

Even among the higher races we find that the words now denoting spiritual things betray in almost all, if not all, cases an earlier physical meaning.

Bearing in mind this qualification I have quoted in 'Prehistoric Times'[1] the following writers who have testified to the existence of tribes without religion. For some of the Esquimaux tribes, Captain Ross;[2] for some of the Canadians, Hearne; for the Californians, Baegert, who lived among them seventeen years, and La Perouse; for many of the Brazilian tribes, Spix and Martius, Bates and Wallace; for Paraguay, Dobritzhoffer; for some of the Polynesians, Williams's Missionary Enterprises, the Voyage of the Novara, and Dieffenbach; for Damood Island (North of Australia), Jukes (Voyage of the 'Fly'); for the Pellew Islands, Wilson; for the Aru Islands, Wallace; for the Andamaners, Mouatt, and more recently Portman, who spent much time with them and studied them closely; for certain tribes of Hindostan, Hooker and Shortt; for some of the Eastern African nations, Burton and Grant; for the Bachapin Kaffirs, Burchell; and for the Hottentots, Le Vaillant. I will here only give a few additional instances.

The natives of Queensland, says Mr. Lang, 'have no 'idea of a supreme divinity, the creator and governor 'of the world, the witness of their actions, and their 'future judge. They have no object of worship, even 'of a subordinate and inferior rank. They have no 'idols, no temples, no sacrifices. In short, they have 'nothing whatever of the character of religion, or of 'religious observance, to distinguish them from the

[1] Prehistoric Times, 5th edition.

[2] See also Franklin's Journey to the Polar Sea, vol. ii. p. 265.

'beasts that perish. They live "without God in the '"world."'[1] He quotes, also, in support of this, the opinion of Mr. Schmidt, who lived as a missionary among the natives of Moreton Bay for seven years, and was well acquainted with their language.

Mr. Ridley, indeed, in an interesting 'Report on 'Australian Languages and Traditions,'[2] states that they have a traditional belief in one supreme Creator, called Baiamai, but he admits that most of the witnesses who were examined before the select Committee, appointed by the Legislative Council of Victoria in 1858 to report on the Aborigines, 'gave it as their opinion 'that the natives had no religious ideas.' It appears moreover from a subsequent remark,[3] that Baiamai only possessed 'traces' of the 'three attributes of the God of 'the Bible—viz. Eternity, Omnipotence, and Goodness.'

'It is evident,' says M. Bik,[4] 'that the Arafuras of 'Vorkay (one of the Southern Arus) possess no religion 'whatever. . . . Of the immortality of the soul they 'have not the least conception. To all my enquiries on 'this subject they answered, "No Arafura has ever '"returned to us after death, therefore we know '"nothing of a future state, and this is the first time '"we have heard of it." Their idea was Mati, Mati 'sudah (When you are dead there is an end of you). 'Neither have they any notion of the creation of the 'world. To convince myself more fully respecting 'their want of knowledge of a Supreme Being, I 'demanded of them on whom they called for help in

[1] Lang's Queensland, p. 374.

[2] Jour. of the Anthrop. Institute, 1872, p. 257.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 278.

[4] Quoted in Kolff's Voyages of the Dourga, p. 158.

'their need, when their vessels were overtaken by 'violent tempests. The eldest among them, after 'having consulted the others, answered that they 'knew not on whom they could call for assistance, 'but begged me, if I knew, to be so good as to inform 'them.'

'The wilder Bedouins,'[1] says Burton, 'will inquire 'where Allah is to be found: when asked the object of 'the question, they reply, "If the Eesa could but catch '"him they would spear him upon the spot; who but '"he lays waste their homes and kills their cattle and '"wives?"' He also considers that atheism is 'the 'natural condition of the savage and uninstructed mind, 'the night of spiritual existence, which disappears 'before the dawn of a belief in things unseen. A 'Creator is to creation what the cause of any event 'in life is to its effect; those familiar to the sequence 'will hardly credit its absence from the minds of 'others.'[2]

Among the Koossa Kaffirs, Lichtenstein[3] affirms that 'there is no appearance of any religious worship 'whatever.'

'It might be the proper time now,' says Father Baegert, 'to speak of the form of government and the 'religion of the Californians previous to their conver- 'sion to Christianity; but neither the one nor the 'other existed among them. They had no magistrates, 'no police, and no laws; idols, temples, religious 'worship or ceremonies were unknown to them, and 'they neither believed in the true and only God, nor

[1] First Footsteps in East Africa, p. 52.

[2] Abeokuta, vol. i. p. 179.

[3] Lichtenstein, vol. i. p. 253.

'adored false deities. . . . I made diligent enquiries, 'among those with whom I lived, to ascertain whether 'they had any conception of God, a future life, and 'their own souls, but I never could discover the slightest 'trace of such a knowledge. Their language has no 'words for "God" and "soul."'[1] Indeed, the missionaries found no word which they could use for 'God' in any of the Oregon languages.[2]

Although, as Captain John Smith[3] quaintly puts it, there was 'in Virginia no place discovered to be so 'savage in which they had not a religion, Deere, and 'bows and arrows,' still the ruder tribes in the far North, according to the testimony of Hearne, who knew them intimately, had no religion.

Several tribes, says Robertson,[4] 'have been dis-'covered in America, which have no idea whatever of a 'Supreme Being, and no rites of religious worship. . . . 'Some rude tribes have not in their language any name 'for the Deity, nor have the most accurate observers 'been able to discover any practice or institution which 'seemed to imply that they recognised his authority, 'or were solicitous to obtain his favour.'

In the face of such a crowd of witnesses it may at first sight seem extraordinary that there can still be any difference of opinion on the subject. This, however, arises partly from the fact that the term 'Re-'ligion' has not always been used in the same sense, and partly from a belief that, as has no doubt happened in several cases, travellers may, from ignorance of the

[1] Baegert. Smithsonian Trans., 1863–4, p. 390.

[2] Hale's Ethnography of the U. S. Expl. Exped., p. 200.

[3] Voyages in Virginia, p. 138.

[4] History of America, book iv. p. 122. See also Pritchard's Nat. History of Man, vol. ii. p. 608.

language, or from shortness of residence, have overlooked a religion which really existed.

For instance, the first describers of Tahiti asserted that the natives had no religion, which subsequently proved to be a complete mistake; and several other similar cases might be quoted. As regards the lowest races of men, however, it seems to me, even *à priori*, very difficult to suppose that a people so backward as to be unable to count their own fingers should be sufficiently advanced in their intellectual conceptions as to have any system of belief worthy of the name of a religion.

The Atheism or absence of Belief in Gods, among the lower races, is of course a very different thing from the denial of their existence among higher races, as for instance among the Jains of India, who 'taught'[1] that the gods had no real existence, and that even if they did exist they had no power or authority to override the inexorable destiny which governed the universe.

We shall, however, obtain a clearer view of the question if we consider the superstitions of those races which have a rudimentary religion, and endeavour to trace these ideas up into a more developed condition.

Here, again, we shall perhaps be met by the doubt whether travellers have correctly understood the accounts given to them. In many cases, however, when the narrator had lived for months, or years, among those whom he was describing, we need certainly feel no suspicion, and in others we shall obtain a satisfactory result by comparing together the statements of different observers and using them as a check one upon the other.

[1] Wheeler, Hist. of India, vol. iv. p. 412.

The religious theories of savages are certainly not the result of deep thought, nor must they be regarded as constituting any elaborate or continuous theory. A Zulu candidly said to Mr. Callaway :[1] 'Our knowledge 'does not urge us to search out the roots of it ; we do 'not try to see them ; if any one thinks ever so little 'he soon gives it up, and passes on to what he sees 'with his eyes ; and he does not understand the real 'state of even what he sees.' Dulaure[2] truly observes, that the savage 'aime mieux soumettre sa raison, 'souvent révoltée, à ce que ses institutions ont de plus 'absurde, que de se livrer à l'examen, parce que ce 'travail est toujours pénible pour celui qui ne s'y est 'point exercé.' With this statement I entirely concur, and I believe that through all the various religious systems of the lower races may be traced a natural and unconscious process of development.

The ideas of religion among the lower races of man are intimately associated with, if indeed they have not originated from, the condition of man during sleep, and especially from dreams. Sleep and death have always been regarded as nearly related to one another. Thus, in classical mythology, Somnus, the god of sleep, and Mors, the god of death, were both fabled to have been the children of Nox, the goddess of night. So, also, the savage would naturally look on death as a kind of sleep, and would expect—hoping on even against hope —to see his friend return to himself from the one as he had so often done from the other.

Hence, probably, one reason for the great import-

[1] The Religious System of the Amazulu, p. 22.
[2] Histoire des Cultes, vol. i. p. 22.

ance ascribed to the treatment of the body after death. But what happens to the spirit during sleep? The body lies lifeless, and the savage not unnaturally concludes that the spirit has left it. In this he is confirmed by the phenomena of dreams, which consequently to the savage have a reality and an importance which we can scarcely appreciate. During sleep the spirit seems to desert the body; and as in dreams we visit other localities and even other worlds, living, as it were, a separate and different life, the two phenomena are not unnaturally regarded as the complements of one another. Hence the savage considers the events in his dreams to be as real as those of his waking hours, and hence he comes to feel that he has a spirit which can quit the body. 'Dreams,' says Burton, 'according to the Yorubans (West Africa) and to many 'of our fetichists, are not an irregular action and partial activity of the brain, but so many revelations 'brought by the manes of the departed.'[1] So strong was the North American faith in dreams that on one occasion, when an Indian dreamt he was taken captive, he induced his friends to make a mock attack on him, to bind him and treat him as a captive, actually submitting to a considerable amount of torture, in the hope thus to fulfil his dream.[2] The Greenlanders,[3] also, believe in the reality of dreams, and think that at night they go hunting, visiting, courting, and so on. It is of course obvious that the body takes no part in these nocturnal adventures, and hence it is natural to conclude that they have a spirit which can quit the body.

[1] Abeokuta, vol. i. p. 204. [2] Lafitau, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 366.
[3] Crantz, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 200.

In Madagascar[1] 'the people throughout the whole 'island pay a religious regard to dreams, and imagine 'that their good demons (for I cannot tell what other 'name to give their inferior deities, which, as they say, 'attend on their owleys) tell them in their dreams 'what ought to be done, or warn them of what ought 'to be avoided.' Mr. E. F. Von Thurm mentions a case in which an Indian of Guiana punished his slave because he dreamt that the man had been impertinent to him.[2]

Lastly, when they dream of their departed friends or relatives, savages firmly believe themselves to be visited by their spirits, and hence believe, not indeed in the immortality of the soul, but in its survival of the body. Thus the Veddahs of Ceylon believe in spirits, because their deceased relatives visit them in dreams;[3] the Karens also believe that the spirit can leave the body during sleep;[4] and the Manganjas (South Africa) expressly ground their belief in a future life on the same fact. 'Persons who are pursued 'in their sleep by the image of a deceased relation, are 'often known to sacrifice a victim on the tomb of the 'defunct, in order, as they say, to calm his dis-'quietude.'[5] Again:[6] 'If during sleep you dream of 'returning to your people from whom you separated 'a long time ago; and see that so-and-so and so-and-'so are not happy; and when you wake your body is

[1] The Adventures of Robert Drury, p. 171. See also pp. 176, 272.

[2] Journ. Anthr. Inst., May 1882, p. 364.

[3] Bailey, in Trans. Eth. Soc., N. S., vol. ii. p. 301.

[4] M'Mahon. Karens of the G. Chers., pp. 91, 127.

[5] The Basutos, Rev. E. Casilis, p. 245.

[6] Unkulunkulu; or, the Tradition of Creation as existing among the Amazulu, p. 228.

'unstrung; you know that the Itongo has taken you 'to your people, that you might see the trouble in 'which they are; and that if you go to them you will 'find out the cause of their unhappiness.' Indeed, the whole chapter on dreams in Dean Callaway's treatise on the religion of the Kaffirs is most interesting and instructive.

Speaking of the Peruvians, Garcilasso de la Vega says,[1] 'for ordinary omens they made use of dreams.' The Tongans thought that the souls of chiefs—for those of the common people were considered to die with their bodies—'had the power of returning to Tonga to inspire 'priests, relations, or others, or to appear in dreams.'[2] The Fijians[3] also believe 'that the spirit of a man 'who still lives will leave the body to trouble other 'people when asleep. When anyone faints or dies, their 'spirit, it is said, may sometimes be brought back by 'calling after it.' Herodotus, speaking of the Nasamones, says that when they wish to divine, they go 'to 'the tombs of their ancestors, and after having prayed, 'they lie down to sleep, and whatever dream they have, 'this they avail themselves of.'[4]

Again, savages are rarely ill; their sufferings generally arise from wounds; their deaths are generally violent. As an external injury received in war causes pain, so when they suffer internally they attribute it to some internal enemy. Hence, when the Australian, perhaps after too heavy a meal, has his slumbers disturbed, he never doubts the reality of what is passing,

[1] The Royal Commentaries of the Incas, vol. i. p. 183. See also Wuttke, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 310.

[2] Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 138.

[3] Williams's Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 242.

[4] Melpomene, 172.

but considers that he is attacked by some being whom his companions cannot see.

This is well illustrated in the following passage from the 'United States Exploring Expedition:'[1] 'Some-'times, when the Australians are asleep, Koin makes 'his appearance, seizes upon one of them and carries 'him off. The person seized endeavours in vain to cry 'out, being almost strangled. At daylight, however, 'he disappears, and the man finds himself conveyed 'safely to his own fireside. From this it would appear 'that the demon is here a sort of personification of 'the nightmare—a visitation to which the natives, from 'their habits of gorging themselves to the utmost when 'they obtain a supply of food, must be very subject.'

The Karens suppose 'that nightmare is caused by 'an unfriendly spirit sitting on the stomach.'[2]

Speaking of the North-Western Americans, Mr. Sproat says:[3] 'The apparition of ghosts is especially 'an occasion on which the services of the sorcerers, the 'old women, and all the friends of the ghost-seer are 'in great request. Owing to the quantity of indiges-'tible food eaten by the natives, they often dream that 'they are visited by ghosts. After a supper of blubber, 'followed by one of the long talks about departed 'friends, which take place round the fire, some nervous 'and timid person may fancy, in the night-time, that 'he sees a ghost.'

In some cases the belief that man possesses a spirit seems to have been suggested by the shadow. Thus,

[1] *Loc. cit.* vol. vi. p. 110.

[2] M'Mahon. Karens of the G. Chers., p. 154.

[3] Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 172.

among the Fijians,[1] 'some speak of a man as having 'two spirits. His shadow is called "the dark spirit," 'which they say goes to Hades. The other is his like-'ness reflected in water or a looking-glass, and is sup-'posed to stay near the place in which a man dies. 'Probably this doctrine of shadows has to do with the 'notion of inanimate objects having spirits. I once 'placed a good-looking native suddenly before a mirror. 'He stood delighted. "Now," said he, softly, "I can '"see into the world of spirits."'

The North American Indians also consider a man's shadow as his soul or life. 'I have,' says Tanner, 'heard them reproach a sick person for what they con-'sidered imprudent exposure in convalescence, telling 'him that his shadow was not well settled down in 'him.'[2]

The natives of Benin 'call a man's shadow his pass-'adoor, or conductor, and believe it will witness if he 'lived well or ill. If well, he is raised to great happi-'ness and dignity in the place before mentioned; if ill, 'he is to perish with hunger and poverty.'[3] They are, indeed, a most superstitious race; and Lander mentions a case in which an echo was taken for the voice of a Fetich.[4] The Basutos when walking along a river are very careful not to let their shadow fall on the water. The crocodile, they think, 'has the power of seizing the 'shadow of a man passing by, and by it dragging him 'into the river, where it will certainly kill him, though

[1] Williams's Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 241.

[2] Tanner's Captivity, p. 291.

[3] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 99. Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 531. See also Callaway on the Religious System of the Amazulu, p. 91.

[4] Niger Expedition, vol. iii. p. 242.

'it will not eat a morsel of his flesh.' In Micronesia the usual word for soul, 'támune' or 'tamre,' means properly shadow,[1] and the same was the case in Tasmania.[2]

Thunder, also, was often regarded either as an actual deity or as a heavenly voice. 'One night,' says Tanner, 'Picheto (a North American chief), becoming much 'alarmed at the violence of the storm, got up and 'offered some tobacco to the thunder, entreating it to 'stop.'[3]

I have already mentioned that savages almost always regard spirits as evil beings. We can, I think, easily understand why this should be. Amongst the very lowest races every other man—amongst those slightly more advanced, every man of a different tribe —is regarded as naturally, and almost necessarily, hostile. A stranger is synonymous with an enemy, and a spirit is but a member of an invisible tribe.

The Hottentots, according to Thunberg, have very vague ideas about a good deity. 'They have much 'clearer notions about an evil spirit, whom they fear, 'believing him to be the occasion of sickness, death, 'thunder, and every calamity that befalls them.'[4] The Bechuanas attribute all evil to an invisible god, whom they call Murimo, and 'never hesitate to show their 'indignation at any ill experienced, or any wish unac-'complished, by the most bitter curses. They have no 'religious worship, and could never be persuaded by

[1] Hale's Ethnography of the United States Expl. Exp., p. 98.

[2] Bonwick's Daily Life of the Tasmanians, p. 182.

[3] Tanner's Narrative of a Captivity among the Indians, p. 136.

[4] Thunberg. Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xv. p. 142. Astley, *loc. cit.* p. 366.

'the missionaries that this was a thing displeasing to 'God.'[1]

Among the Mosquito Indians there was no name for a supreme good spirit, all their appeals were addressed to Wulasha, the author of evil.[2]

Among the Bongos of Central Africa 'good spirits 'are quite unrecognised, and, according to the general 'negro idea, no benefit can ever come from a spirit.'[3]

The Abipones of South America, so well described by Dobritzhoffer, had some vague notions of an evil spirit, but none of a good one.[4] The Coroados[5] of Brazil 'acknowledge no cause of good, or no god, but 'only an evil principle, which . . . . leads him astray, 'vexes him, brings him into difficulty and danger, and 'even kills him.'

In Virginia and Florida the evil spirit was worshipped and not the good, because the former might be propitiated, while the latter was sure to do all the good he could.[6] So also the 'Cemis' of the West Indian Islands were regarded as evil, and 'reputed to be the 'authors of every calamity that affects the human 'race.'[7] The Redskin, says Carver,[8] 'lives in continual 'apprehension of the unkind attacks of spirits, and to 'avert them has recourse to charms, to the fantastic cere-'monies of his priest, or the powerful influence of his 'manitous. Fear has of course a greater share in his 'devotions than gratitude, and he pays more attention

[1] Lichtenstein, vol. ii. p. 332.
[2] Bancroft, *loc. cit.* p. 740.
[3] Schweinfurth's Heart of Africa, vol. i. p. 306.
[4] Dobritzhoffer, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 35, 64.
[5] Spix and Martius, vol. ii. p. 242.
[6] Müller's Gesch. d. American. Urreligionen, p. 151.
[7] Robertson's America, book iv. p. 124.
[8] Travels, p. 388.

'to deprecating the wrath of the evil than securing 'the favour of the good beings.' The Tartars of Katschiutzai also considered the evil spirits to be more powerful than the good.[1] The West Coast negroes, according to Artus,[2] represent their deities as 'black and mischievous, delighting to torment them in various ways. They 'said that the Europeans' God was very good, who gave 'them such blessings, and treated them like His children. Others asked, murmuring, why God was not as 'kind to them? Why did not He supply them with 'woollen and linen cloth, iron, brass, and such things, 'as well as the Dutch? The Dutch answered, that 'God had not neglected them, since He had sent them 'gold, palm-wine, fruits, corn, oxen, goats, hens, and 'many other things necessary to life, as tokens of His 'bounty. But there was no persuading them these 'things came from God. They said the earth, and not 'God, gave them gold, which was dug out of its bowels; 'that the earth yielded them maize and rice, and that not 'without the help of their own labour; that for fruits 'they were obliged to the Portuguese, who had planted 'the trees; that their cattle brought them young ones, 'and the sea furnished them with fish; that, however, 'in all these their own industry and labour were required, without which they must starve; so that they 'could not see how they were obliged to God for any of 'those benefits.' When Burton spoke to the Eastern negroes about the Deity, they eagerly asked where he was to be found, in order that they might kill him; for they said, 'Who but he lays waste our homes, and

[1] Pallas, vol. iii. p. 433.

[2] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 664.

'kills our wives and cattle?' The following expression of Eesa feelings, overheard by Burton, gives a dreadful illustration of this idea. An old woman, belonging to that Arab tribe, having a toothache, offered up the following prayer: 'Oh, Allah, may thy teeth 'ache like mine! Oh, Allah, may thy gums be as sore 'as mine!' Can this be called 'religion'? Surely in spirit it is the very reverse.

Canon Callaway, speaking of the Kaffirs, after quoting similar opinions from Moffat, Vanderkemp, Casalis and Arbousset, expresses his own conviction [1] that 'in the 'native mind there is scarcely any notion of deity, if any.' 'The word "morimo" or "molimo," often translated 'God, may be nothing more than an earthly chief, still 'celebrated by name.'

Dr. Nixon, first Bishop of Tasmania, tells [2] us that among the natives of that country 'no trace can be 'found of the existence of any religious usage, or even 'sentiment amongst them: unless, indeed, we may call 'by that name the dread of a malignant and destructive 'spirit, which seems to have been their predominant, if 'not their only, feeling on the subject.'

'Of a supreme and beneficent God,' says Hunter,[3] 'the Santal has no conception. His religion is a 'religion of terror and degradation. Hunted and driven 'from country to country by a superior race, he cannot 'understand how a being can be more powerful than him-'self without wishing to harm him.' The Circassians [4] and some of the Chinese [5] have also similar opinions.

[1] Callaway. The Religious System of the Amazulu, p. 124.

[2] Bonwick's Daily Life of the Tasmanians, p. 172.

[3] Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 181.

[4] Klemm, Allg. Cult. d. Mensch., vol. iv. p. 36.

[5] Trans. Ethn. Soc. 1870, p. 21.

Hence it is that mad people are in many countries looked on with so much reverence, since they are regarded as the special abode of some deity.[1] Savages who believe that diseases are owing to magic naturally conclude that death is so too. Far from having realised to themselves the idea of a future life, they have not even learnt that death is the natural end of this one. We find a very general conviction among savages that there is no such thing as natural death, and that when a man dies without being wounded he must be the victim of magic.

Thus Mr. Lang,[2] speaking of the Australians, says that whenever a native dies, 'no matter how evident it 'may be that death has been the result of natural causes, 'it is at once set down that the defunct was bewitched 'by the sorcerers of some neighbouring tribe.' Among the natives of Southern Africa no one is supposed to die naturally.[3] The Bechuanas, says Philip, 'and all 'the Kaffir tribes, have no idea of any man dying except 'from hunger, violence, or witchcraft. If a man die 'even at the age of ninety, if he do not die of hunger 'or by violence, his death is imputed to sorcery or to 'witchcraft, and blood is required to expiate or avenge 'it.'[4] So also Battel tells us that on the Guinea Coast 'none on any account dieth, but that some other has 'bewitched them to death.'[5] Dobritzhoffer[6] mentions that 'even if an Abipon die from being pierced with

[1] See Cook, Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 18.

[2] Lecture on the Aborigines of Australia, p. 14. See also Oldfield's Trans. Ethn. Soc. N.S., vol. iii. p. 236.

[3] Chapman's Travels in Africa, vol. i. p. 47.

[4] Philip's South Africa, vol. i. p. 118.

[5] Adventures of Andrew Battel, Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 334. See also Astley, vol. ii. p. 300.

[6] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 84.

'many wounds, or from having his bones broken, or 'his strength exhausted by extreme old age, his country-'men all deny that wounds or weakness occasioned his 'death, and anxiously try to discover by which of the 'jugglers, and for what reason, he was killed.' Stevenson[1] states that in South America 'the Indians never be-'lieve that death is owing to natural causes, but that it 'is the effect of sorcery and witchcraft. Thus, on the 'death of an individual, one or more diviners are con-'sulted, who generally name the enchanter, and are so 'implicity believed, that the unfortunate object of their 'caprice or malice is certain to fall a sacrifice.' Wallace[2] found the same idea among the tribes of the Amazons; Müller[3] mentions it as prevalent among the Dacotahs; Hearne[4] among the Hudson's Bay Indians.

But though spirits are naturally much to be dreaded on various accounts, it by no means follows that they should be conceived as necessarily wiser or more powerful than men. Of this our table-turners and spirit-rappers give a modern illustration. So also the natives of the Nicobar Islands were in the habit of putting up scarecrows to frighten the 'Eewees' away from their villages.[5] The inhabitants of Kamtschatka, according to Kotzebue,[6] insult their deities if their wishes are unfulfilled. They even feel a contempt for them. If Kutka, they say, had not been so stupid, would he have made inaccessible rocks, and too rapid rivers?[7]

[1] Travels in South America, vol. i. p. 60.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 500.

[3] Amer. Urreligionen, p. 82.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 338.

[5] Voyage of the 'Novara,' vol. ii. p. 66.

[6] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 13.

[7] Klemm, Cult. d. Menschen, vol. ii. p. 318. Müller's Des. de toutes les Nations de l'Empire Russe, pt. iii. p. 92.

The Lapps, according to Klemm, made idols for their deities, and placed each in a separate box, on which they indicate the name of the deity, so that each might know its own box.[1]

Vancouver[2] mentions that the inhabitants of Owhyhee were seriously offended with their deity for permitting the death of a popular young chief named Whokaa. Yate observes[3] that the New Zealanders, attributing certain diseases to the attacks of the Atua, endeavoured either to propitiate or drive him away; in the latter case 'they make use of the most threatening 'and outrageous language, sometimes telling their deity 'that they will kill and eat him.'

In India the seven great 'Rishis' or penitents are described in some of the popular tales as even superior to the gods. One of them is said to have 'paid a visit 'to each of the three principal divinities of India, and 'began his interview by giving each of them a kick! 'His object was to know how they would demean themselves, and to find out their temper, by the conduct 'which they would adopt upon such a salutation. The 'penitents always maintained a kind of superiority over 'the gods, and punished them severely when they found 'them in fault.'[4]

How far the 'religion' of a low race may differ from ours we may see in the case of the Todas. They can indeed hardly be said to have no god, 'but their con-'ception of a supreme being is quite without definition.'[5]

[1] *Loc. cit.* vol. iii. p. 81.

[2] Voyage of Discovery, vol. iii. p. 14.

[3] Account of New Zealand, p. 141. D'Urville's Voyage de l'Astrolabe, vol. iii. pp. 245, 440, 470.

[4] Dubois, *loc. cit.* p. 304.

[5] Marshall's Todas, p. 124.

So different is their idea of a deity from ours, that they regard certain bells, hatchets, and knives as deities; also certain buffaloes, in whom the sacred character is hereditary; and also the 'Palal,' a man who is not a chief, nor a priest, but who has special functions connected with the dairy, which invest him with a divine character. Though he regards himself, and is regarded by them, as a god, he may again become a man, if he can induce anyone to take his sacred office, and incur the tedium of the isolation which it involves.

The negro of Guinea beats his Fetich if his wishes are not complied with, and hides him in his waist-cloth if about to do anything of which he is ashamed, so that the Fetich may not be able to see what is going on.[1]

During a storm the Bechuanas cursed the deity for sending thunder;[2] the Mincopies[3] and the Namaquas shot poisoned arrows at storms to drive them away.[4] When the Basuto (Kaffir) is on a marauding expedition he 'gives utterance to those cries and hisses in which 'cattle drivers indulge when they drive a herd before 'them; thinking in this manner to persuade the poor 'divinities (of the country they are attacking) that he 'is bringing cattle to their worshippers, instead of 'coming to take it from them.'[5]

According to Thomson,[6] the natives of Cambodia assumed that the deity did not understand foreign

[1] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 668. Tuckey's Exp. to the Zaire, p. 377.

[2] Chapman's Travels in Africa, vol. i. p. 45.

[3] Day, p. 172.

[4] Wood's Natural History of Man, vol. i. p. 307.

[5] Casalis' Basutos, p. 253.

[6] Trans. Ethn. Soc., vol. vi. p. 250.

languages. Franklin[1] says that the Cree Indians treat their deity, whom they call Kepoochikawn, 'with con-'siderable familiarity, interlarding their most solemn 'speeches with expostulations and threats of neglect if 'he fails in complying with their requests.' The North Australian native[2] will not go near graves 'at night by 'himself; but when obliged to pass them he carries a 'fire-stick to keep off the spirit of darkness.'

The Kyoungtha of Chittagong are Buddhists. Their village temples contain a small stand of bells and an image of Boodh, which the villagers generally worship morning and evening, 'first ringing the bells to let him 'know that they are there.'[3] The Shintoo temples of the Sun Goddess in Japan also contain a bell, 'intended 'to arouse the goddess and to awaken her attention to 'the prayers of her worshippers.'[4] According to the Brahmans,[5] 'two things are indispensably necessary 'to the sacrificer in performing the ceremony: several 'lighted lamps and a bell.'

The Shamans among the Tonguses and Buraets, according to Müller, 'font résonner le tambour magique 'pour convoquer les Dieux, les Diables, et les Esprits, 'et pour les rendre attentifs.'[6] The Tartars of the Altai picture to themselves the Deity as an old man with a long beard, and dressed in the uniform of a Russian officer of dragoons.[7] The ancient Finns

[1] Visit to the Polar Seas, vol. iv. p. 146.

[2] Keppel's Visit to the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. p. 182.

[3] Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 39.

[4] Smith's Ten Weeks in Japan, p. 49. See also Gutzlaff's Three Voyages to China, p. 273.

[5] Dubois, The People of India, p. 400.

[6] Müller's Des. de toutes les Nations de l'Empire Russe, pt. iii. p. 159.

[7] *Ibid.* pt. iii. p. 142.

had no idea of immortality in connection with their deities.[1]

Even the Greeks and Romans believed stories very derogatory, not only to the moral character, but to the intellect and power of their deities. Thus they were liable to defeat from mortals; Mars, though the God of War, was wounded by Diomed and fled away howling with pain. They had little or no power over the elements; they had no foreknowledge, and were often represented as inferior, both morally and mentally, to men. Even Homer does not seem to have embraced the idea of omnipotence.[2]

Again, Diomed not only wounds Venus in the hand, but addresses her in most insulting terms:—

> Daughter of Jove, from battlefields retire;
> Enough for thee weak women to delude;
> If war thou seek'st, the lesson thou shalt learn
> Shall cause thee shudder but to hear it named.[3]

Venus flies to Dione, who says:—

> Have patience, dearest child; though much enforced,
> Restrain thine anger; we, in heaven who dwell,
> Have much to bear from mortals; and ourselves
> Too oft upon each other sufferings lay.
> Mars had his sufferings; by Alöeus' sons,
> Otus and Ephialtes, strongly bound,
> He thirteen months in brazen fetters lay:
> And there had pined away the God of War,
> Insatiate Mars, had not their stepmother,
> The beauteous Eribœa, sought the aid
> Of Hermes; he by stealth released the god,
> Sore worn and wasted by his galling chains.
> Juno too suffered, when Amphitryon's son
> Through her right breast a three-barbed arrow sent.

[1] L. le Duc. La Finlande, vol. i. p. lxiii.

[2] Gladstone's Juventus Mundi, pp. 198, 228. See also Müller's Sci. System of Mythology, p. 292.

[3] Iliad, Lord Derby's translation, v. 397.

Dire, and unheard-of, were the pangs she bore.
Great Pluto's self the stinging arrow felt,
When that same son of ægis-bearing Jove
Assailed him in the very gates of hell,
And wrought him keenest anguish; pierced with pain
To high Olympus, to the courts of Jove,
Groaning he came; the bitter shaft remained
Deep in his shoulder fixed, and grieved his soul;
But Pæon's hand with soothing anodynes
(For death on him was powerless) healed the wound.

In fact, it may truly be said that the savage has a much greater respect for his chief than for his god.[1] This low estimate of spirits is shown in a very striking manner by the behaviour of savages during eclipses. All over the world we find races of men who believe that the sun and moon are alive, and who consider that during eclipses they are either quarrelling with each other, or attacked by the evil spirits of the air. Hence it naturally follows, although to us it seems absurd, that the savage endeavours to assist the sun or moon. The Greenlanders[2] regard the sun and moon as sister and brother; the former being the female, and being constantly pursued by the latter. During an eclipse they think the moon 'goes about among the houses to 'pilfer their skins and eatables, and even to kill those 'people that have not duly observed the rules of absti-'nence. At such times they hide away everything, and 'the men carry chests and kettles on the top of the 'house, and rattle and beat upon them to frighten away 'the moon, and make him return to his place. At an 'eclipse of the sun the women pinch the dogs by the 'ears; if they cry, 'tis a sign that the end of the world 'is not yet come.'

[1] See Burton's Abbeokuta, vol. i. p. 180. Dubois, *loc. cit.* pp. 304, 430.
[2] Crantz, vol. i. p. 232.

The Iroquois, says Doctor Mitchell,[1] believe that eclipses are caused by a bad spirit, 'who mischievously 'intercepts the light intended to be shed upon the earth 'and its inhabitants. Upon such occasions the greatest 'solicitude exists. All the individuals of the tribe feel 'a strong desire to drive away the demon, and to re-'move thereby the impediment to the transmission of 'luminous rays. For this purpose they go forth, and, 'by crying, shouting, drumming, and the firing of guns, 'endeavour to frighten him. They never fail in their 'object ; for by courage and perseverance they infallibly 'drive him off. His retreat is succeeded by a return of 'the obstructed light.'

The Caribs, says Lafitau, accounted for eclipses by supposing either that the moon was ill, or that she was attacked by enemies ; these they endeavoured to drive away by dances, by cries, and by the sacred rattle.[2] Some of the northern Mexican tribes had a very similar custom, and under the same impression the natives of Yucatan used to beat their dogs, and make other noises during eclipses. The Chiquito Indians,[3] according to Dobritzhoffer, imagine that the sun and moon during eclipses are 'cruelly torn by dogs, with which they 'think that the air abounds, when they see their light 'fail ; attributing their blood-red colour to the bites of 'these animals. Accordingly, to defend their dear 'planets from those aërial mastiffs, they send a shower 'of arrows up into the sky, amid loud vociferations, at 'the time of the eclipse.' When the Guaycurus, says

[1] Archæol. Americana, vol. i. p. 351.

[2] Lafitau, vol. i. pp. 248, 252. Tertre, History of the Caribby Islands, p. 272. Depons' Trav. in S. America, vol. i. p. 197.

[3] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 84.

Charlevoix, 'think themselves threatened with a storm, 'they sally out of their towns, the men armed with 'their mancanas, and the women and children howling 'with all their might; for they believe that, by so doing, 'they put to flight the devil that intended to excite it.'[1] The ancient Peruvians, also, during eclipses of the moon, used to beat their dogs in order that by their howlings they might awaken her out of the swoon into which she was supposed to have fallen.[2] In parts of Polynesia, also, eclipses were attributed to attacks on the sun and moon by celestial beings.[3]

In China the same idea has prevailed from time immemorial, and from the reign of Tcheou, 1100 B.C., a Court astronomer has regularly been appointed, whose business it was to announce any approaching eclipse. The Court (and this custom has continued even down to our own time) then assembled, the Emperor solemnly beat a tambour, while the Mandarins shot arrows into the sky to assist the luminary which is eclipsed.[4] The Steins of Cambodia,[5] like the Cambodians themselves, account for eclipses by the hypothesis 'that some Being 'has swallowed up the sun and the moon; and, in 'order to deliver them, they made a frightful noise, 'beat the tam-tam, uttered savage cries, and shot arrows 'into the air, until the sun reappeared.'

During an eclipse the Sumatrans[6] also 'make a loud 'noise with sounding instruments, to prevent one

[1] History of Paraguay, vol. i. p. 92. See also p. 203.

[2] G. de la Vega, vol. i. p. 181; Martius, *loc. cit.* p. 32.

[3] Turner's Samoa, pp. 274, 282.

[4] Biot, Astronomie Indienne et Chinoise, pp. 233, 355. See also Pallas, vol. iv. p. 220.

[5] Mouhot's Travels in Indo-China, vol. i. p. 253.

[6] Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 194. Anderson's Mission to Sumatra, p. 76.

'luminary from devouring the other, as the Chinese, to 'frighten away the dragon; a superstition that has its 'source in the ancient systems of astronomy (particu- 'larly the Hindu), where the nodes of the moon are 'identified with the dragon's head and tail. They tell 'of a man in the moon who is continually employed in 'spinning cotton, but that every night a rat gnaws his 'thread, and obliges him to begin his work afresh.'

'In Eastern Africa,' Speke[1] mentions that on one occasion, 'as there was a partial eclipse of the moon, all 'the Wanguana marched up and down from Rumanika's 'to Nnanagi's huts, singing and beating our tin cook- 'ing-pots to frighten off the spirit of the sun from con- 'suming entirely the chief object of reverence, the moon.' Lander[2] mentions that at Boussa, in Central Africa, an eclipse was attributed to an attack made by the sun on the moon. During the whole time the eclipse lasted the natives made as much noise as possible, 'in the 'hope of being able to frighten away the sun to his 'proper sphere, and leave the moon to enlighten the 'world as at other times.'

I was myself at Darhoot, in Upper Egypt, one year, during an eclipse of the moon, and the natives fired guns, either to frighten away the moon's assailants, or as some said out of joy at her escape from danger, though I observed that the firing began during the eclipse.

I reserve to a future chapter the consideration of the ideas which prevail among the lower races on the subject of the soul; but I must here remark that one of the difficulties in arriving at any clear conception of the

[1] Speke, p. 243.

[2] R. and I. Landers' Niger Expedition, vol. ii. pp. 180, 183.

religious system of the lower races arises from a confusion between a belief in ghosts, and that in an immortal spirit. Yet the two are essentially distinct; and the spirit is not necessarily regarded as immortal, because it does not perish with the body. The negroes, for instance, says one of our keenest observers, Captain Burton, 'believe in a ghost, but not in a spirit; in a 'present immaterial, but not in a future.'[1] Counting on nothing after the present life, there is for them no hope beyond the grave. They wail and sorrow with a burden of despair. '"Amekwisha"—"he is finished" '—is the East African's last word concerning parent or 'friend. "All is done for ever," sing the West Africans. 'The least allusion to loss of life makes their black 'skins pale. "Ah!" they exclaim, "it is bad to die; to '"leave house and home, wife and children; no more to '"wear soft cloth, nor eat meat, nor smoke tobacco."' The Bongos of Soudan have, says Schweinfurth,[2] not the remotest conception of immortality. They have no more idea of the transmigration of souls, or any doctrine of the kind, than they have of the existence of an ocean. The Hudson's Bay Indians, according to Hearne,[3] a good observer, and one who had ample means of judging, had no idea of any life after death.

In other cases the spirit is supposed to survive the body for a certain time, and to linger about its old abode. Ask the negro, says M. Du Chaillu,[4] 'where is 'the spirit of his great-grandfather? he says he does 'not know; it is done. Ask him about the spirit of his

[1] Burton, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. i. p. 323.

[2] Heart of Africa, vol. i. p. 304.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 344.

[4] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. i. p. 309.

'father or brother who died yesterday, then he is full 'of fear and terror; he believes it to be generally near 'the place where the body has been buried, and among 'many tribes the village is removed immediately after 'the death of one of the inhabitants.' The same belief prevails among the Amazulu Kaffirs, as has been well shown by Mr. Callaway.[1] They believe that the spirits of their deceased fathers and brothers still live, because they appear in dreams; by inverse reasoning, however, grandfathers are generally regarded as having ceased to exist; perhaps in some cases because the spirit is supposed to have taken, and identified itself with, a new body.

Bosman mentions that on the Guinea Coast, when 'any considerable person dies, they perplex one another 'with horrid fears, proceeding from an opinion that he 'appears for several nights successively near his late 'dwelling.'[2] Thus it seems that the power of a ghost after death bears some relation to that which the man possessed when alive.

For the dead, also, the prospect is cheerless enough. According to Livingstone, for instance, the natives of Angola fancy that when dead they will be 'completely 'in the power of the disembodied spirits, and look upon 'the prospect of following them as the greatest of mis-'fortunes.'[3]

Other negroes think that after death they become white men[4]—a curious idea, which also occurs in

[1] The Religious System of the Amazulu, 1860.

[2] Bosman, *loc. cit.* p. 402.

[3] Travels in S. Africa, p. 440.

[4] Bosman, *loc. cit.* p. 401.

Australia,'[1] in Tasmania,[2] in Tanna,[3] New Guinea,[4] and New Caledonia;[5] that is to say, in at least four of the most distinct human races. Among the Tipperahs of Chittagong, if a man dies away from home, his relatives stretch a thread over all the intermediate streams, so that the spirit of the dead man may return to his own village; it being supposed that 'without assistance spirits are unable to cross running water; therefore the stream here had been bridged in the 'manner aforesaid.'[6] We know that a somewhat similar idea existed in Europe, and it occurs also in the Fiji Islands.

Again, some modes of death are supposed to kill not only the body, but the spirit also. Thus a Bushman, having put to death a woman, who was a magician, dashed the head of the corpse to pieces with large stones, buried her, and made a large fire over the grave, for fear, as he explained to Lichtenstein, she should rise again and 'trouble him.'[7] The Hervey Islanders believed that all who die a natural death are annihilated.[8] Even the New Zealanders believed that a man who was eaten was destroyed, both body and spirit. The same idea evidently influenced the Californian who, as recorded by Mr. Gibbs, did not dispute the immortality of the whites who buried their dead, but

[1] Lang's Queensland, pp. 348, 354. Trans. Ethn. Soc. vol. iii. 259.

[2] Bonwick's Daily Life of the Tasmanians, p. 184.

[3] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 424.

[4] Gill, Journ. R. Geog. Soc. 1873, p. 33.

[5] Brenchley's Cruise of the 'Curaçoa,' p. 342. See also Burton's Dahome, vol. ii. p. 165.

[6] Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 84.

[7] Lichtenstein, vol. ii. p. 61.

[8] Gill, Myths of the South Pacific, p. 162.

could not believe the same of his own people, because they were in the habit of burning them.[1]

In these cases it will be observed that the existence of the ghost depends upon the manner of death and the mode of burial. This is no doubt absurd, but it is not illogical. The savage's idea of a spirit is something ethereal indeed, but not altogether immaterial, and consequently it may be injured by violence. Some races believe in ghosts of the living, as well as of the dead. For instance, the Fijians[2] believe 'that the spirit of 'a man who still lives will leave the body to trouble 'other people when asleep. When anyone faints or 'dies, his spirit, it is said, may sometimes be brought 'back by calling after it.'

Even when the ideas of a soul and of a future life are more developed, they are far from always taking the direction of our beliefs. Thus the Caribs and Redskins believe that a man has more than one soul; to this they are probably led by the pulsation of the heart and the arteries, which they regard as evidences of independent life. Thus also they account for inconsistencies of behaviour.

The belief in ghosts, then, is essentially different from our notions of a future life. Ghosts are mortal, they haunt burial-grounds and hover round their own graves. Even when a higher stage has been gained, the place of departed souls is not a heaven, but merely a better earth.

Divination and sorcery are so widely distributed that they may almost be said to have been universal.

[1] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, pt. iii. p. 107.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 242.

Their characteristics are so well known and so similar all over the world, that I shall only give a few suggestive illustrations.

Whipple[1] thus describes a scene of divination among the Cherokees. The priest, having concluded an eloquent address, took 'a curiously wrought bowl, alleged 'to be of great antiquity; he filled it with water and 'placed the black substance within, causing it to move 'from one side to the other, and from bottom to top, 'by a word. Alluding, then, to danger and foes, the 'enchanted mineral fled from the point of his knife; 'but as he began to speak of peace and security, it 'turned toward and clung to it, till lifted entirely from 'the water. The priest finally interpreted the omen by 'informing the people that peace was in the ascendant, 'no enemy being near.' In West Africa[2] they have a mode of divination with nuts, 'which they pretend to 'take up by guess, and let fall again; after which they 'tell them, and form their answers according as the 'numbers are even or odd.' The negroes of Egba[3] consult Shango by 'throwing sixteen pierced cowries: 'if eight fall upwards and eight downwards, it is peace; 'if all are upwards, it is also a good sign; and, *vice* '*versâ*, if all fall with their teeth to the ground, it 'is war.'

Many races use shoulder-blades in divination. The bone is placed in the fire and the future is indicated by the arrangement of the cracks (figs. 15–17). The same custom exists among the Lapps, the Mongols,[4] and

[1] Report on the Indian Tribes, p. 35.

[2] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 674.

[3] Abbeokuta, vol. i. p. 188.

[4] Klemm, Cult. der Mensch., vol. iii. p. 199.

Tonguses[1] of Siberia, the Affghans,[2] the Bedouins, and even in our own country.[3] The lines vary of course greatly ; still, there are certain principal cracks which usually occur. The accompanying figures of Kalmuck specimens are copied from Klemm, who explains, after Pallas, the meaning of the various lines.

Fig. 15

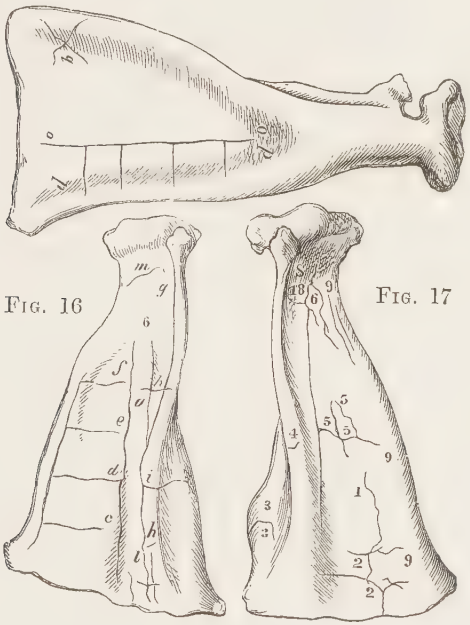


Fig. 16

Fig. 17

SHOULDER-BLADES PREPARED FOR DIVINATION
(Klemm, Culturg. der Menschheit, vol. iii. p. 200.)

Other Yakuts profess to foretell the future by the lines of the palm of the hand.[4]

[1] Müller's Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Emp. Russe, pt. iii. p. 163.

[2] Masson's Journeys in Beloochistan, vol. iii. p. 334.

[3] Tylor's Primitive Culture, vol. ii. p. 113. Brand's Pop. Ant., vol. iii. p. 339. Forbes Leslie, Early Races of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 491.

[4] Müller's Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Emp. Russe, pt. iii. p. 163.

The Chipewyans of North America also make their magic drawings on shoulder-blades, which they then throw into the fire.[1] Williams[2] describes various modes of divination practised in Fiji.

Canon Callaway gives an interesting account of divination as practised among the Zulus, and mentions one case in which the persons enquiring of the magician gave him no clue to the answer they expected, upon which he gravely told them that 'they did not know 'how to enquire of a diviner,' so he would send his servant to hear their case, and put the enquiries for them; an amusing illustration of the manner in which people allow themselves to be deceived.[3]

Dr. Anderson mentions a similar illustration from West Yunan.[4] 'Three men had gone to the Kakhyen 'hills, and a report having reached their families that 'one of them had died, the old hags were deciding 'upon the truth of the rumour, and determining which 'of the men it was who had passed into Nâtland. To 'arrive at this, they had taken, for each of the men 'whose fates were to be determined, a small piece of 'cotton-wool, and strung it through the eye of a needle; 'and giving to each a special mark and the name of a 'man, they had let the needles gently into the water, in 'which they were suspended by the cotton float. It 'takes some time before the cotton is so thoroughly 'wetted as to sink, but the needle which first drops to 'the bottom consigns the unfortunate whose name it 'bears to the land of forgetfulness.'

[1] Tanner's Narrative, p. 192.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 228. See also Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 239.

[3] Religious System of the Amazulu, pt. iii. p. 328.

[4] Exped. to Western Yunan, p. 236.

When the Zulu soldiers go to battle, their wives hang up against the walls of their huts 'a simple mat 'of rushes which they have themselves plaited. As 'long as that casts a little shade upon the wall, the 'credulous woman believes that her husband is safe; 'but when it ceases to do so the sight of it is produc- 'tive only of grief.'[1]

In New Zealand, before a warlike expedition is undertaken, the natives sometimes plant sticks in the ground in two rows, one of which denotes their own party, the other that of the enemy. If the wind blows the enemy's sticks backwards, they will be defeated; if forwards, they will be victorious; if obliquely, the expedition will be indecisive. The same criterion is applied to their own sticks.[2]

This is a case of divination, but from it to sorcery is a short and obvious step. When once it is granted that the fall of a stick certainly preludes that of the person it represents, it follows that by upsetting the stick his death can be caused.

We find a very similar idea in the Western Highlands of Scotland. In the 'Sea Maiden' a mermaid appears to a fisherman, and gives him three seeds, which are to produce three trees, which 'will be a sign, 'when one of the sons dies, one of the trees will 'wither;' and this accordingly took place.[3] A supposed prophet of the Shawnees (North America) sent word to Tanner that the fire in his lodge was intimately connected with his life. 'Henceforth,' said he,

[1] Arbousset's Tour to the Cape of Good Hope, p. 145.

[2] Yate's New Zealand, p. 91.

[3] Campbell's Tales of the West Highlands, vol. i. p. 71.

'the fire must never be suffered to go out in your 'lodge. Summer and winter, day and night, in the 'storm or when it is calm, you must remember that 'the life in your body and the fire in your lodge are the 'same. If you suffer your fire to be extinguished, at 'that moment your life will be at an end.'[1]

Father Merolla mentions a case in which a Congo (negro) witch tried to destroy him. With this object she dug a hole in the ground, 'and I resolved,' says the worthy Father,[2] 'not to stand long in one place, thereby 'to avoid the design she had upon me to bewitch me 'to death, that having been the reason of her making a 'hole in the earth. It seems their custom is, that when 'they have a mind to bewitch anyone mortally, they 'put a certain herb or plant into the hole they have so 'dug; which as it perishes or decays, so the vigour 'and spirits of the person they have a design upon 'will fail and decay.' In Fiji[3] 'one mode of operat- 'ing is to bury a cocoa-nut, with the eye upwards, 'beneath the temple hearth, on which a fire is kept 'constantly burning; and as the life of the nut is 'destroyed, so the health of the person it represents 'will fail, till death ensues. At Matuku there is a 'grove sacred to the god Tokalau, the wind. The 'priest promises the destruction of any hated person in 'four days if those who wish his death bring a portion 'of his hair, dress, or food which he has left. This 'priest keeps a fire burning and approaches the place 'on his hands and knees. If the victim bathe before 'the fourth day the spell is broken. The most common

[1] Tanner's Narrative, p. 156.
[2] Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 290.
[3] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 248.

'method, however, is the Vakadranikau, or compound-'ing of certain leaves supposed to possess a magical 'power, and which are wrapped in other leaves, or put 'into a small bamboo case, and buried in the garden of 'the person to be bewitched, or hidden in the thatch of 'his house. The native imagination is so absolutely 'under the control of the fear of these charms, that 'persons, hearing that they were the objects of such 'spells, have lain down on their mats, and died through 'fear. Those who have reason to suspect others of 'plotting against them avoid eating in their presence, or 'are careful to leave no fragment of food behind; they 'also dispose their garments so that no part can be re-'moved. Most natives on cutting their hair hide what 'is cut off in the thatch of their own houses. Some 'build themselves a small house, and surround it with 'a moat, believing that a little water will neutralise 'the charms which are directed against them.' In North America, to ensure a successful war, courtship, or hunt, the Indians make a rude drawing or a little image to represent the man, woman, or animal; then medicine is applied to it; or, if the design is to cause death, the heart is pierced.[1] The Romans, when sacrifices were forbidden, used as a substitute to throw dolls into the Tiber, and in India the magicians make small figures of mud, on the breasts of which they write the names of those whom they wish to annoy. They then 'pierce the 'images with thorns, or mutilate them, so as to communi-'cate a corresponding injury to the person represented.'[2]

Among the Greeks also we find the same idea that

[1] Tanner's Narrative, p. 174.

[2] Dubois, The People of India, p. 347.

if a witch could obtain the clippings of anyone's hair she might thus acquire power over them.[1]

In one of the despatches intercepted during our war with Nepaul, Gouree Sah sent orders to 'find out the 'name of the Commander of the British Army ; write 'it upon a piece of paper ; take it, and some rice and tur- 'meric, say the great incantation three times ; having said 'it, send for some plum-tree wood and therewith burn it.'[2]

The Tibeto-Burman tribes are held by sorcery in 'an 'atmosphere of distrust, dread and revenge.'[3]

In other cases, the possession of a person's name is sufficient ; and, indeed, all over the world we find more or less confusion between a thing or a person, and its or his name. Hence the importance attached in North America, Polynesia, and South Africa to an exchange of names. Hence, as for instance among the Negroes,[4] Abyssinians,[5] and Australians,[6] we often find a person's real name concealed, lest a knowledge of it should give a power over the person.

The Chinooks of Columbia 'are averse to telling 'their true names to strangers ; with them the name 'assumes a personality ; it is the shadow or spirit, or 'other self, of the flesh and blood person, and between 'the name and the individual there is a mysterious con- 'nection, and injury cannot be done to one without 'affecting the other ; therefore to give one's name to a 'friend is a high mark of Chinook favour.'[7]

[1] See Apuleius ; The Golden Ass. Story of Pamphile.

[2] Fraser's Tour to the Himalas, p. 530.

[3] M'Mahon. The Karens of the Golden Chersonese, p. 91.

[4] Burton's Dahome, vol. ii. p. 284.

[5] Parkyns' Abyssinia, vol. ii. p. 145.

[6] Prichard's Nat. Hist. of Man, vol. ii. p. 492.

[7] Bancroft's Native Races of the Pacific States, p. 245.

Even the Romans, when they besieged a town, had a curious ceremony founded on the same idea. They invoked the tutelar deity of the city, and tempted him by the offer of rewards and sacrifices 'to betray his 'friends and votaries. In that ceremony the name of 'the tutelar deity was thought of importance, and for 'that reason the tutelar deity of Rome was a profound 'secret.' [1] Valerius Soranus is said to have been put to death for daring to divulge it.' [2]

Many savage races at the present day consider for the same reason that it is very important to conceal their true name, and this is possibly one reason for the frequent practice of addressing one another by their relationship rather than by name.

Sumatra gives us a curious instance of long survival of this idea in a somewhat advanced community. 'A 'Sumatran [3] ever scrupulously abstains from pronounc- 'ing his own name; not as I understand from any 'motive of superstition, but merely as a punctilio in 'manners. It occasions him infinite embarrassment 'when a stranger unacquainted with their customs 'requires it of him.'

Generally, however, it was considered indispensable that the sorcerer should possess 'something connected 'with the body of the object of vengeance. The parings 'of the nails, a lock of the hair, the saliva from the 'mouth, or other secretions from the body, or else a 'portion of the food which the person was to eat. This 'was considered as the vehicle by which the demon 'entered the person, who afterwards became possessed.

[1] Lord Kames' History of Man, vol. iv. p. 226. Ortolan's Justinian, vol. i. p. 8.

[2] Pliny, Bk. III. ch. ix.

[3] Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 286.

'It was called the tubu, growing or causing to grow. 'When procured, the tara was performed; the sorcerer 'took the hair, saliva, or other substance that had 'belonged to his victim to his house, or marae, per- 'formed his incantations over it, and offered his prayers; 'the demon was then supposed to enter the tubu, and 'through it the individual, who afterwards became 'possessed.' [1]

Speaking of New Zealand, Taylor [2] says that a 'per- 'son who wished to bewitch another sought to obtain 'something belonging to him—a lock of hair, a portion 'of his garment, or even some of his food; this being 'possessed, he uttered certain karakias over it, and then 'buried it; as the article decayed, the individual also 'was supposed to waste away. This was sure to be 'the case if the victim heard of it; fear quickly ac- 'complishing his enemy's wish. The person who be- 'witched another remained three days without eating; 'on the fourth he ate, and his victim died.'

So also Seeman [3] tells us that 'if a Fijian wishes 'to cause the destruction of an individual by other 'means than open violence or secret poison, the case is 'put in the hands of one of these sorcerers, care being 'taken to let this fact be generally and widely known. 'The sorcerer now proceeds to obtain any article that 'has once been in the possession of the person to be 'operated upon. These articles are then burnt with 'certain leaves, and if the reputation of the sorcerer be 'sufficiently powerful, in nine cases out of ten the

[1] Williams's Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 228.

[2] New Zealand and its Inhabitants, pp. 89, 167. See also Shortland's Traditions of the New Zealanders, p. 117.

[3] A Mission to Viti, p. 189.

'nervous fears of the individual to be punished will 'bring on disease, if not death: a similar process is 'applied to discover thieves.'

Mr. Turner gives a very similar account of disease-making as practised in Tanna.[1] Sir G. Grey thus describes a scene of witchcraft in New Zealand: 'The 'priests[2] then dug a long pit termed the pit of wrath, 'into which by their long enchantments they might 'bring the spirits of their enemies, and hang them and 'destroy them there; and when they had dug the pit, 'muttering the necessary incantations, they took large 'shells in their hands to scrape the spirits of their 'enemies into the pit with, whilst they muttered en-'chantments; and when they had done this they 'scraped the earth into the pit again to cover them up, 'and beat down the earth with their hands, and crossed 'the pit with enchanted cloths, and wove baskets of 'flax-leaves to hold the spirits of the foes which they 'had thus destroyed, and each of these acts they 'accompanied with proper spells.'

The Tasmanians[3] 'procured something belonging to 'the unfortunate object of their wrath, wrapped it in 'fat, placed it before the fire, and expected that as the 'fat dissolved before the heat, so would the health of 'the party decline.'

So also among the Australians of the Lower Murray.[4] 'Every adult black fellow is constantly on the 'look-out for bones of ducks, swans, or other birds, or 'of the fish called ponde, the flesh of which has been

[1] Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 90.

[2] Polynesian Mythology, p. 168.

[3] Bonwick's Daily Life of the Tasmanians, p. 178.

[4] Taplin. The Narrinyeri, p. 19.

'eaten by anybody. Of these he constructs his charms. 'All the natives, therefore, are careful to burn the bones 'of the animals which they eat, so as to prevent their 'enemies from getting hold of them; but in spite of this 'precaution, such bones are commonly obtained by 'disease-makers who want them. When a man has ob- 'tained a bone—for instance, the leg-bone of a duck— 'he supposes that he possesses the power of life and death 'over the man, woman, or child who ate its flesh.'

In North America, also, 'a hair from the head of 'the victim' is supposed to increase greatly the efficacy of charms, and the same idea occurs at the Cape; thus Livingstone tells us[1] that among the Makololo 'when a 'man has his hair cut, he is careful to burn it, or bury 'it secretly, lest, falling into the hands of one who has 'an evil eye, or is a witch, it should be used as a charm 'to afflict him with headache;' indeed, no one can read a book of African travels without being struck by the great dread of witchcraft felt by the natives of that continent.

Like our spirit-rappers and table-turners, the Chinese magicians,[2] 'though they have never seen the person 'who consults them, tell his name, and all the circum- 'stances of his family; in what manner his house is 'situated, how many children he has, their names and 'age; with a hundred other particulars, which may be 'naturally enough supposed known to the demons, and 'are strangely surprising to weak and credulous minds 'among the vulgar.

'Some of these conjurors, after invoking the demons, 'cause the figures of the chief of their sect, and of their

[1] Expedition to the Zambesi, p. 46. Shooter, Kaffirs of Natal, p. 255.

[2] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 205.

'idols, to appear in the air. Formerly they could make 'a pencil write of itself, without anybody touching it. 'upon paper or sand, the answers to questions. They 'likewise cause all people of any house to pass in review 'in a large vessel of water; wherein they also show the 'changes that shall happen in the empire, and the ima- 'ginary dignities to which those shall be advanced who 'embrace their sect.'

In all parts of India, says De Faira,[1] 'there are pro- 'digious wizards. When Vasco de Gama was sailing 'upon that discovery, some of them at Kalekût showed 'people, in basins of water, the three ships he had with 'him.'

We cannot wonder that savages believe in witch- craft, since even the most civilised races have not long, nor entirely, ceased to do so.

Father Merolla,[2] a Capuchin 'missioner,' tells quite gravely the following story. The army of Sogno having captured a neighbouring town, found in it a large cock with a ring of iron round one leg. This they killed, cut in pieces, and put into a pot to boil; when, however, they thought to eat it, 'the boiled pieces of the cock, 'though sodden, and near dissolved, began to move 'about, and unite into the form they were in before. 'and being so united, the restored cock immediately 'raised himself up, and jumped out of the platter upon 'the ground, where he walked about as well as when he 'was first taken. Afterwards he leaped upon an ad- 'joining wall, where he became new-feathered all of a 'sudden, and then took his flight to a tree hard by,

[1] Quoted in Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. i. p. 63.

[2] Voyage to Congo, Pinkerton, vol. xv. p. 229.

'where fixing himself, he, after three claps of his wings, 'made a most hideous noise, and then disappeared.'

To doubt the reality of witchcraft, says Lafitau,[1] 'est une industrie des athées, et un effet de cet esprit 'd'irréligion qui fait aujourd'hui des progrès si sensibles 'dans le monde, d'avoir détruit en quelque sorte dans 'l'idée de ceux mêmes qui se piquent d'avoir de la 'religion, qu'il se trouve des hommes qui ayent com-'merce avec les démons par la voye des enchantemens 'et de la magie.'

Lafitau does not, indeed, deny that some wizards were impostors, but he maintains that 'ce seroit rendre le 'monde trop sot, que de vouloir le supposer pendant 'plusieurs siècles la dupe de quelques misérables joueurs 'de gobelets.'

Even among our recent missionaries some, according to Williams, believed that the Polynesian wizards really possessed supernatural powers, and were 'agents of the 'infernal powers.'[2] Nay, Williams himself thought it 'not impossible.'

We may well be astonished that Europeans should believe in such things ; on the other hand, it is not surprising that savages should believe in witchcraft, nor even that the wizards should believe in themselves.

We must indeed by no means suppose that sorcerers are always, or indeed generally, impostors.

The Shamans of Siberia are, says Wrangel,[3] by no means 'ordinary deceivers, but a psychological pheno-'menon, well deserving of attention. Whenever I have 'seen them operate they have left me with a long-con-

[1] *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 374.
[2] Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 226.
[3] Siberia, p. 124.

'tinued and gloomy impression. The wild look, the 'bloodshot eyes, the labouring breast and convulsive 'utterance, the seemingly involuntary distortion of the 'face and the whole body, the streaming hair, even the 'hollow sound of the drum, all contributed to the effect; 'and I can well understand that the whole should 'appear to the uncivilised spectator as the work of evil 'spirits.'

Speaking of the Ahts, in North-West America, it is undoubtedly a fact, says Mr. Sproat,[1] 'that many of 'the sorcerers themselves thoroughly believe in their 'own supernatural powers, and are able, in their pre-'parations and practices, to endure excessive fatigue, 'want of food, and intense prolonged mental excite-'ment.'

Dobritzhoffer concludes that the sorcerers of the Abipones[2] themselves 'imagine that they are gifted 'with superior wisdom;' and Müller also is convinced that they honestly believe in themselves.[3] We should, says Martius,[4] 'do them an injustice if we regarded 'the Brazilian sorcerers as mere impostors,' though he adds, 'they do not scruple to cheat where they can.'

Williams, also, who was by no means disposed to take a favourable view of the native sorcerers, admits that they believed in themselves, a fact which it is only fair to bear in mind.[5] Turner also says the same of the sorcerers in Tanna.[6]

This self-deception was much facilitated by, if not

[1] Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 170.

[2] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 68.

[3] Gesch. d. Amer. Urrelig. p. 80.

[4] Von d. Rechtszus. unter den Ur. Brasiliens, p. 30.

[5] Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 226.

[6] Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 91.

mainly due to, the very general practice of fasting by those who aspired to the position of wizards. The Greenlander, says Cranz,[1] who would be an angekok, 'must retire from all mankind for a while into some 'solitary recess or hermitage, must spend the time in 'profound meditation, and call upon Torngarsuk to 'send him a torngak. At length, by abandoning the 'converse of men, by fasting and emaciating the body, 'and by a strenuous intenseness of thought, the man's 'imagination grows distracted, so that blended images 'of men, beasts, and monsters appear before him. He 'readily thinks these are real spirits, because his thoughts 'are full of spirits, and this throws his body into great 'irregularities and convulsions, which he labours to 'cherish and augment.'

Among the North-American Indians,[2] when a boy reaches maturity, he leaves home and absents himself for some days, during which he eats nothing, but lies on the ground thinking. When at length he falls asleep, the first animal about which he dreams is, he thinks, ordained to be his special protector through life.[3] The dream itself he looks on as a revelation. Indeed, the Redskins fast before any great expedition, thinking that during their dreams they receive indications as to the course of action which they should pursue.[4] Among the Cherokees also fasting is very prevalent, 'and an 'abstinence of seven days renders the devotee famous.'[5] The Flatheads of Oregon have a very similar custom.

[1] History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 210.

[2] Catlin's North-American Indians, vol. i. p. 36.

[3] Lafitau, *loc. cit.* vol. i. pp. 267, 290, 331, and especially pp. 336 and 370. Prichard's Nat. Hist. of Man, vol. ii. p. 572.

[4] Carver's Travels, p. 285.

[5] Whipple's Report on Indian Tribes, p. 36.

Here, however, a number of youths retire together. 'They spend three days and nights in the performance 'of these rites, without eating or drinking. By the 'languor of the body and the high excitement of the 'imagination produced during this time, their sleep 'must be broken and visited by visions adapted to 'their views.'[1] These, therefore, they not unnaturally look on as the visits of spirits.

Those who by continued fasts had thus purified and cleared their minds from gross ideas, were supposed to be capable of a clearer insight into the future than that which is accorded to ordinary men, and were called 'Saiotkatta' by the Hurons, and 'Agotsinnachen' by the Iroquois, terms which mean literally 'seers.'[2]

In Brazil, a young man who wished to be a pajé went alone to some mountain, or to some lone place, and fasted for two years, after which he was admitted with certain ceremonies into the order of pajés.[3] Among the Abipones[4] and Caribs[5] those who aspired to be 'keebet' proceeded in a similar manner. Among the South-American Indians of the Rio de la Plata the Medicine-men were prepared for their office by a long fast.[6] Among the Lapps, also, would-be wizards prepare themselves by a strict fast.[7]

At first sight the introduction of 'dances' may seem out of place here. Among savages, however, it is no mere amusement. It is, says Robertson,[8] 'a serious

[1] Dunn's Oregon, p. 329.

[2] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 371.

[3] Martius, Recht. unter d. Ur. Bras. p. 30.

[4] Dobritzhoffer, vol. ii. p. 67.

[5] Du Tertre, History of the Caribby Islands, p. 342.

[6] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 335.

[7] Klemm, Cult. der Mens. vol. iii. p. 85.

[8] Robertson's America, bk. iv. p. 133. See also Schoolcraft, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 488, on the Sacred Dances of the Redskins.

'and important occupation, which mingles in every 'occurrence of public or private life. If any intercourse 'be necessary between two American tribes the ambas- 'sadors of the one approach in a solemn dance and 'present the calumet or emblem of peace; the sachems 'of the other receive it with the same ceremony. If 'war is denounced against an enemy, it is by a dance, 'expressive of the resentment which they feel, and of 'the vengeance which they meditate. If the wrath of 'their gods is to be appeased or their beneficence to be 'celebrated—if they rejoice at the birth of a child, or 'mourn the death of a friend—they have dances appro- 'priate to each of these situations, and suited to the 'different sentiments with which they are then ani- 'mated. If a person is indisposed a dance is prescribed 'as the most effectual means to restore him to health; 'and if he himself cannot endure the fatigue of such an 'exercise, the physician or conjuror performs it in his 'name, as if the virtue of his activity could be trans- 'ferred to his patient.'

Among the Kols of Nagpore Colonel Dalton[1] described several dances, which, he says, 'are all more or 'less connected with some religious ceremony.' The Ostyaks also perform sacred sword dances in honour of their God Yelan.[2]

Fig. 18 represents a sacred dance as practised by the natives of Virginia. It is very interesting to see here a circle of upright stones, which, except that they are rudely carved at the upper end into the form of a head, exactly resemble our so-called Druidical temples. In Brazil, again, 'some of the tribes had no other worship

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc. vol. vi. p. 30. [2] Erman, vol. ii. p. 52.

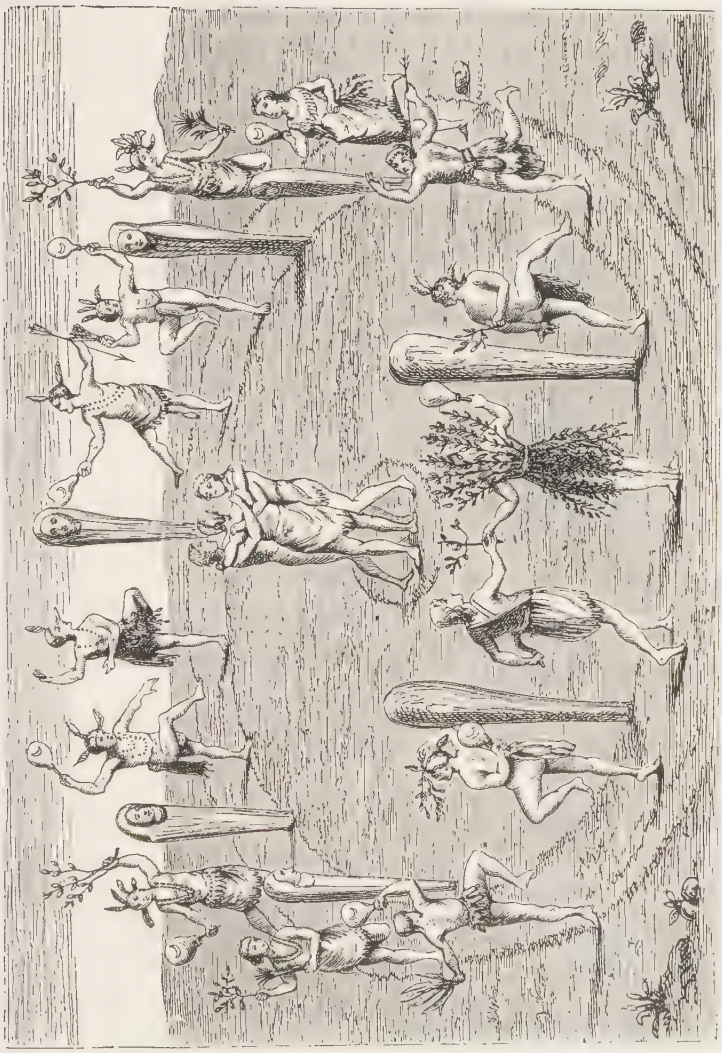


Fig. 18

A DANCE. (From Lafitau's 'Mœurs des Sauvages.')

'than dancing to the sound of very noisy instruments.'[1] Bonwick, speaking of the Tasmanians, tells us that 'among their superstitious rites dancing was con-'spicuous.'[2]

The idea is by no means confined to mere savages. Even Socrates[3] regarded the dance as a part of religion, and David, we know, did so too.[4]

Dancing still takes place at the Breton 'Pardons,' and, says Jehan, 'Il y a moins d'un siècle que l'on dansait 'dans la chapelle même pour honorer le saint du lieu.'[5]

As sacrificial feasts so generally enter into religious ceremonials, we need not wonder that smoking is throughout America closely connected with all religious ceremonies, just as incense is used for the same purpose in the Old World.[6]

The Zulus, also, when sacrificing, burn incense, thinking that 'they are giving the spirits of their people 'a sweet savour.'[7]

Among the Sonthals, one of the aboriginal tribes of India, the whole of their religious observances 'are 'generally performed and attended to by the votaries 'whilst in a state of intoxication; a custom which re-'minds us of the worship of Bacchus among the Greeks 'and Romans.'[8] The Mandingoes, also, are said to intoxicate themselves under the belief that they thus acquire a sort of inspiration.

[1] Depons, Tr. in S. America, vol. i. p. 198. See also Zeit. f. Ethnologie, 1870, p. 276.

[2] Daily Life of the Tasmanians, p. 186.

[3] Soc. apud Athen., lib. 14, p. 628. Quoted in Lafitau, vol. i. p. 200.

[4] 2 Sam. vi. 14, 22.

[5] La Bretagne, p. 356.

[6] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 133.

[7] Callaway's Religious System of the Amazulu, p. 141.

[8] The People of India, by J. F. Watson and J. W. Kaye, vol. i. p. 1.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION (*continued*).

I HAVE already observed that any rational classification of religions should be founded, not so much on the nature of the object worshipped as on the conception formed of the nature of the Deity. In support of this view I will now quote some illustrations to show how widely distributed is the worship of various material objects, and how much they are interwoven with one another.

How ready savages are to deify any unfamiliar objects, is well shown in the following story from Lander's 'Niger Expedition.'

In most African towns and villages, says Lander,[1] 'I was treated as a demigod.' He mentions that on one occasion, having landed at a village which white men had never visited before, his party caused great astonishment and terror. When at length they succeeded in establishing a communication with the natives, the chief of the village gave the following account of what had taken place. 'A few minutes,'[2] he said, 'after 'you first landed, one of my people came to me and 'said that a number of strange people had arrived at 'the market-place. I sent him back again to get as

[1] R. and J. Lander's Niger Expedition, vol. iii. p. 198.

[2] *Loc. cit.* vol. iii. p. 78.

'near to you as he could, to hear what you intended 'doing. He soon after returned to me and said that 'you spoke a language which he could not understand. 'Not doubting it was your intention to attack my 'village at night and carry off my people, I desired 'them to get ready to fight. . . . But when you came 'to meet us unarmed, and we saw your white faces, we 'were all so frightened that we could not pull our 'bows, nor move hand or foot; and when you drew 'near me, and extended your hands towards me, I felt 'my heart faint within me, and believed that you were '"children of Heaven," and had dropped from the 'skies.' In the Andaman Islands the white men were regarded as spirits.[1] In early Irish history also we are told that Fedelin and Ethne, daughters of Loegaire, took St. Patrick and his companions for spirits.[2]

Barth was identified by the Fulahs with their God 'Feté;' Thompson and Moffatt were taken by the Bechuana women for deities, while Tuckey makes a similar statement as regards Congo, and according to Chapman, the Bushmen describe the white men as the children of God. A common Samoan prayer used to be, 'Drive away from us "Sailing Gods," lest they bring disease and death.'[3] Among the natives of India the deification of men is still active.[4]

Among the Todas the 'Palal,' who is neither a chief nor a priest, but whose special function it is to tend the sacred buffaloes, really considers himself a god during his term of office; though it is in his power to divest himself of his sacred character, and become a man again,

[1] Mam., J. Anthr. Inst., 1882, p. 101.

[2] Todd's St. Patrick, p. 452.

[3] Turner's Samoa, p. ix.

[4] Lyell, Fortnightly Review, Sept. 1875.

if he can find anyone else who will consent to take his place.[1]

The natives of the Lower Murray, as I have already mentioned, when oxen were first introduced, concluded they were demons, and fled in terror. They called them Wunda-Wityeri, 'beings with spears on their 'heads.'[2] Another tribe, on the contrary, thought the pack-oxen were the wives, because they carried the baggage.[3] Many of the lower races, also, when they first came in contact with white men, took them for ghosts.

The worship of animals is very prevalent among races of men in a somewhat higher stage of civilisation than that characterised by Fetichism. Plutarch, long ago, suggested that it arose from the custom of representing animals upon standards; and it is possible that some few cases may be due to this cause, though it is manifestly inapplicable to the majority, because, in the scale of human development, animal-worship much precedes the use of standards, which, for instance, do not appear to have been used in the Trojan war.[4] Diodorus explains it by the myth that the gods, being at one time hard pressed by the giants, concealed themselves for a while under the form of animals, which in consequence became sacred, and were worshipped by men.

Another ancient suggestion was that the Egyptian chiefs wore helmets in the form of animals' heads, and that hence these animals were worshipped. This theory, however, will not apply generally, because the other races which worship animals do not use such

[1] Marshall's Todas, p. 136.
[2] Taplin, The Narrinyeri, p. 3.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 53.
[4] Goguet, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. 364.

helmets, and even in Egypt there can be little doubt that the worship of animals preceded the use of helmets.

Plutarch, as already mentioned, supposed that the crocodile was worshipped because, having no tongue, it was a type of the Deity, who makes laws for nature by his mere will ! This far-fetched explanation shows an entire misconception of savage nature.

The worship of animals is, however, susceptible of a very simple explanation, and perhaps, as I have ventured to suggest,[1] may have originated from the practice of naming, first individuals, and then their families, after particular animals. A family, for instance, which was called after the bear, would come to look on that animal first with interest, then with respect, and at length with a sort of awe.

The habit of calling children after some animal or plant is very common, which amongst the lowest races might naturally be expected from the poverty of their language. The Issinese of Guinea named their children 'after some beast, tree, or fruit, according to their 'fancy. Sometimes they call it after their fetich or 'some white, who is a mingo, that is, friend to them.'[2]

The Hottentots also generally named their children after some animal.[3] In Congo[4] 'some form of food is 'forbidden to everyone : in some it is a fish, in others 'a bird, and so on. This is not, however, expressly 'stated to be connected with the totem.' In Tasmania, according to Milligan, names of children are taken from

[1] Prehistoric Times, 1869, p. 598.
[2] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 436.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 357.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 282.

plants, animals, or other natural objects, and the same is the case among the hill tribes of India.

The 'totem' or sacred animal or plant was thus regarded in some mysterious sense as the ancestral spirit, or soul of the family.

In Southern Africa the Bechuanas are subdivided into men of the crocodile, men of the fish, of the monkey, of the buffalo, of the elephant, porcupine, lion, vine, and so on. No one dares to eat the flesh or wear the skin of the animal to the tribe of which he belongs; and although in this case the totems are not worshipped,[1] each tribe has a superstitious dread of the animal after which it is named.

In Madagascar 'the pretty species of lemur called 'Babacoote is believed by the Betaniména tribe to be an 'embodiment of the spirits of their ancestors, and there-'fore they look with horror upon killing them.'[2]

In China, also, the name is frequently 'that of a 'flower, animal, or such-like thing.'[3] In Australia we seem to find the totem, or, as it is there called, kobong, almost in the very moment of deification. Each family, says Sir G. Grey,[4] 'adopts some animal or vegetable 'as their crest or sign, or kobong, as they call it. I 'imagine it more likely that these have been named 'after the families, than that the families have been 'named after them.' This, however, does not seem to me at all probable.

'A certain mysterious connection exists between

[1] The Basutos, Rev. E. Casalis, p. 211. Livingstone's Travels in S. Africa, p. 13.

[2] Folk-Lore Record, vol. ii. p. 22.

[3] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 91.

[4] Two Expeditions in Australia, vol. ii. p. 228. Taplin, The Narrinyeri, p. 1.

'the family and its kobong, so that a member of the 'family will never kill an animal of the species to which 'his kobong belongs, should he find it asleep; indeed, 'he always kills it reluctantly, and never without afford- 'ing it a chance of escape. This arises from the family 'belief that some one individual of the species is their 'nearest friend, to kill whom would be a great crime, 'and to be carefully avoided. Similarly, a native who 'has a vegetable for his kobong, may not gather it 'under certain circumstances, and at a particular period 'of the year.'[1]

The Columbian Indians are divided into clans or 'crests,' called after some animal, which must not be shot or ill-treated in the presence of anyone belonging to its 'crests,' or clan.

Here we see a certain feeling for the kobong or totem, though it does not amount to worship, and is apparently confined to certain districts.[2] In America, on the other hand, it has developed into a veritable religion.

The totem of the Redskins, says Schoolcraft,[3] 'is a 'symbol of the name of the progenitor—generally some 'quadruped, or bird, or other object in the animal 'kingdom, which stands, if we may so express it, as 'the surname of the family. It is always some animated 'object, and seldom or never derived from the inani- 'mate class of nature. Its significant importance is 'derived from the fact that individuals unhesitatingly 'trace their lineage from it. By whatever names they

[1] Bancroft, N. R. of P. S., p. 202.

[2] Eyre, vol. ii. p. 328. See also Taplin, Jour. Anthr. Inst., vol. iv. p. 53.

[3] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. ii. p. 49. See also Lafitau, vol. i. pp. 464, 467.

'may be called during their lifetime, it is the totem, 'and not their personal name, that is recorded on the 'tomb, or adjedatig, that marks the place of burial. 'Families are thus traced when expanded into bands or 'tribes, the multiplication of which, in North America, 'has been very great, and has increased, in like ratio, 'the labours of the ethnologist.' The Osages[1] believe themselves to be descended from a beaver, and consequently will not kill that animal. In Peru, again, many of the Indian families believed themselves to be descended from animals.[2]

So, also, among the Khonds of India the different tribes 'take their designation from various animals, 'as the bear tribe, owl tribe, deer tribe,' &c., &c.[3] The Kols of Nagpore also are divided into 'keelis' or clans, generally called after animals, which, in consequence, they do not eat. Thus the eel, hawk, and heron tribe abstain respectively from the flesh of these animals.[4] The Oraons also are divided into tribes, usually named after some animal or plant, which is not eaten by the tribe after which it is named.[5]

Among the Samoans, 'one saw his god in the eel, 'another in the shark, another in the turtle, another in 'the dog, another in the owl, another in the lizard, and 'so on. . . . A man would eat freely of what was 'regarded as the incarnation of the god of another 'man, but the incarnation of his own particular god he

[1] Schoolcraft, vol. i. p. 320.

[2] Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. i. p. 75.

[3] Early Races of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 495.

[4] Dalton, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vi. p. 36.

[5] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 254. See also Campbell's Wild Tribes of Khondistan, p. 26.

'would consider it death to injure or to eat.'[1] In Northern Asia, among the Yakuts, 'each tribe looks 'on some particular animal as sacred, and abstains 'from eating it.'[2]

If, moreover, we bear in mind that the deity of a savage is merely a being of a slightly different nature from—though generally somewhat more powerful than —himself, we shall at once see that many animals, such as the bear or elephant, fulfil in a great measure his conception of a deity.

This is still more completely the case with nocturnal animals, such as the lion and tiger, where the effect is heightened by a certain amount of mystery. As the savage, crouching at night by his camp-fire, listens to the cries and roars of the animals prowling about, or watches them stealing like shadows round and round among the trees, what wonder if he weaves mysterious stories about them? And if in his estimate of animals he errs in one direction, we perhaps have fallen into the opposite extreme.

As an object of worship, however, the serpent is pre-eminent among animals.[3] Not only is it malevolent and mysterious, but its bite—so trifling in appearance and yet so deadly, producing fatal effects rapidly, and apparently by no adequate means—suggests to the savage almost irresistibly the notion of something divine according to his notions of divinity. There were also some lower, but powerful, considerations which tended greatly to the development of serpent-worship.

[1] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 238.

[2] Latham, Des. Ethnol., vol. i. p. 364.

[3] Deane's Worship of the Serpent traced throughout the World.

The animal is long-lived and easily kept in captivity ; hence the same individual might be preserved for a long time, and easily exhibited at intervals to the multitude. In other respects the serpent is a convenient god. Thus in Guinea, where the sea and the serpent were the principal deities, the priests, as Bosman expressly tells us, encouraged offerings to the serpent rather than to the sea, because, in the latter case, 'there happens no 'remainder to be left for them.' [1]

Mr. Fergusson, in his work on Tree and Serpent-worship, has suggested that the beauty of the serpent, or the brilliancy of its eye, had a part among the causes of its original deification. I cannot, however, agree with him in this. Nor do I believe that serpent-worship is to be traced up to any common local origin ; but, on the contrary, that it sprang up spontaneously in many places, and at very different times. In considering the wide distribution of serpent-worship, we must remember that in the case of the serpent we apply one name to a whole order of animals ; and that serpents occur all over the world, except in very cold regions. On the contrary, the lion, the bear, the bull, have less extensive areas, and consequently their worship could never be so general. If, however, we compare, as we ought, serpent-worship with quadruped-worship, or bird-worship, or sun-worship, we shall find that it has no exceptionally wide area.

Mr. Fergusson, like previous writers, is surprised to find that the serpent-god is frequently regarded as a beneficent being. Müller, in his Scientific Mythology, has endeavoured to account for this by the statement

[1] Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 500.

that the serpent typified not only barren, impure nature, but also youth and health. This is not, I think, the true explanation. It may be that the serpent-god commenced as a malevolent being, who was flattered. as cruel rulers always are, and that, in process of time, this flattery, which was at first the mere expression of fear, came to be an article of faith. If, however, the totemic origin of serpent-worship, as above suggested, be the correct one, the serpent, like other totemic deities, would, from its origin, have a benevolent character.

As mentioned in Mr. Fergusson's work, the serpent was worshipped anciently in Egypt,[1] in India,[2] Phœnicia,[3] Babylonia,[4] Greece,[5] as well as in Italy,[6] where, however, it seems not to have prevailed much. Among the Lithuanians 'every family entertained a real serpent 'as a household god.'[7]

Passing on to those cases in which the serpent is even now worshipped, or was so until lately, we find in Asia evidence of serpent-worship, in Persia,[8] Cashmere,[9] Cambodia, Thibet,[10] India,[11] China (traces),[12] Ceylon,[13]

[1] Herodotus, Euterpe, 74.

[2] Tertullian, De Prescript. Hereticorum, c. xlvii. Epiphanius, lib. 1 Heres. xxxvii. p. 267, *et seq.*

[3] Eusebius, Præ. Evan., vol. i. p. 9. Maurice Ind. Antiq., vol. vi. p. 273.

[4] Bel and Dragon, v. 23.

[5] Pausanias, vol. ii. pp. 137, 175. Ælian, De Animal., xvi. 39. Herodotus, viii. 41.

[6] Ælian, Var. Hist., ix. p. 16. Propertius, Eleg. viii. p. 4. Deane, *loc. cit.* p. 253.

[7] Lord Kames' History of Man, vol. iv. p. 193. Deane, *loc. cit.* p. 246.

[8] Mogruil, 156. Windischmann, 37. Shâh Nâmeh, Atkinson's translation, p. 14.

[9] Asiatic Res., vol. xv. pp. 24, 25. Ayeen Akbaree, Gladwin's trans., p. 137.

[10] Hiouen-Thsang, vol. i. p. 4.

[11] Fergusson's Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 56.

[12] *Ibid.* p. 51.

[13] History and Doctrine of Buddhism in Ceylon, Upham.

and among the Kalmucks.[1] In Africa the serpent was worshipped in some parts of Upper Egypt,[2] and in Abyssinia.[3] Among the negroes on the Guinea Coast it used to be the principal deity.[4] Smith, in his voyage to Guinea,[5] says that the natives 'are all pagans, and 'worship three sorts of deities. The first is a large, 'beautiful kind of snake, which is inoffensive in its 'nature. These are kept in fittish-houses, or churches, 'built for that purpose in a grove, to whom they 'sacrifice great store of hogs, sheep, fowls, and goats, '&c., and if not devoured by the snake, are sure to be 'taken care of by the fetishmen or pagan priests.' From Liberia to Benguela, if not farther, the serpent is the principal deity,[6] and, as elsewhere, is regarded as being on the whole beneficent. To it the natives resort in times of drought and sickness, or other calamities. No negro would intentionally injure a serpent, and anyone doing so by accident would assuredly be put to death. All over the country are small huts, built on purpose for the snakes,[7] which are attended and fed by old women. These snakes are frequently consulted as oracles.

In addition to those small huts were temples, which, judged by a negro standard, were of considerable magnificence,[8] with large courts, spacious apartments, and

[1] Klemm, Cult. der Mens., vol. iii. p. 202.

[2] Pococke, Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xv. p. 269.

[3] Dillmann in Zeitsch. der Morgenländischen Gesells., vol. vii. p. 338. Ludolf. Comment. vol. iii. p. 284; Bruce's Travels, vol. iv. p. 35.

[4] Astley's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 489; Burton, vol. ii. p. 139; Smith, *loc. cit.* p. 195; Burton's Dahome, vol. i. p. 94.

[5] Smith's Voyage to Guinea, p. 195. See also Bosman, Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 184, *et seq.*

[6] Bosman, *loc. cit.* pp. 494–496. Smith, *loc. cit.* p. 195.

[7] Astley, *loc. cit.* pp. 27, 32.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 29.

numerous attendants. Each of these temples had a special snake. That of Whydah was supposed to have

FIG. 19

AGOYE, AN IDOL OF WHYDAH. (Astley's Collection of Voyages.)

appeared to the army during an attack on Ardra. It was regarded as a presage of victory, which so encour-

aged the soldiers that they were perfectly successful. Hence this fetich was reverenced beyond all others, and an annual pilgrimage was made to its temple with much ceremony. It is rather suspicious that any young women who may be ill are taken off to the snake's house to be cured. For this questionable service the attendants charge a high price to the parents.

It is observable that the harmless snakes only are thus worshipped. 'Agoye,' the fetich of Whydah which has serpents and lizards coming out of its head [1] (fig. 19), presents a remarkable similarity to some of the Hindoo idols. By the 12th article of a treaty made so recently as 1856 by the British consul for Biafra and Fernando Po, British subjects are expressly forbidden to kill or injure a certain species of snake which is held sacred by the nation.

Snakes, says Schweinfurth, 'are the only creatures 'to which either Dinka or Shillooks (Upper Nile Re-'gion) pay any sort of reverence.' [2]

The Kaffirs of South Africa have a general belief that the spirits of their ancestors appear to them in the form of serpents.[3]

Ellis mentions that in Madagascar the natives regard serpents 'with a sort of superstition.' [4]

In Fiji, 'the god [5] most generally known is 'Ndengei, who seems to be an impersonation of the 'abstract idea of eternal existence. He is the subject

[1] Astley, *loc. cit.* vol. iii. p. 50.

[2] Heart of Africa, vol. i. p. 158.

[3] Casalis' Basutos, p. 246. Chapman's Travels, vol. i. p. 195. Callaway's Religious System of the Amazulu. Arbousset, *loc. cit.* p. 138. Livingstone's Exp. to the Zambesi, p. 46.

[4] Three Visits to Madagascar, p. 143.

[5] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. ii. p. 217.

'of no emotion or sensation, nor any appetite except 'hunger. The serpent—the world-wide symbol of 'eternity—is his adopted shrine. Some traditions re- 'present him with the head and part of the body of 'that reptile, the rest of his form being stone, emblem- 'atic of everlasting and unchangeable duration. He 'passes a monotonous existence in a gloomy cavern; 'evincing no interest in anyone but his attendant, Uto, 'and giving no signs of life beyond eating, answering 'his priest, and changing his position from one side to 'the other.'

In the Friendly Islands the water snake was much respected.[1]

In America serpents were worshipped by the Aztecs,[2] Peruvians,[3] Natchez,[4] Caribs,[5] Monitarris,[6] Mandans,[7] Tatur,[8] Pueblo Indians,[9] &c.

Alvarez, during his attempt to reach Peru from Paraguay, is reported[10] to have seen the 'temple and 'residence of a monstrous serpent, whom the inhabit- 'ants had chosen for their divinity, and fed with human 'flesh. He was as thick as an ox, and seven-and-twenty 'feet long, with a very large head, and very fierce 'though small eyes. His jaws, when extended, dis- 'played two ranks of crooked fangs. The whole body, 'except the tail, which was smooth, was covered with

[1] Mariner, vol. ii. p. 106.

[2] Squier's Serpent Symbol in America, p. 162. Gama, Descripcion Histórica y Cronológica de las Pedras de México, 1832, p. 39; Bernal Diaz, p. 125.

[3] Müller, Ges. d. Amer. Urreligionen, p. 366. Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. i. p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 62.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 221.

[6] Klemm, vol. ii. p. 162.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 163.

[8] Power's Amer. Ethn., vol. iii. p. 144.

[9] Molhausen, Tour to the Pacific, vol. i. p. 264.

[10] Charlevoix's History of Paraguay, vol. i. p. 110.

'round scales of a great thickness. The Spaniards, 'though they could not be persuaded by the Indians 'that this monster delivered oracles, were exceed-'ingly terrified at the first sight of him; and their 'terror was greatly increased when, on one of them 'having fired a blunderbuss at him, he gave a roar 'like that of a lion, and with a stroke of his tail shook 'the whole tower.'

The worship of serpents being so widely distributed, and presenting so many similar features, we cannot wonder that it has been regarded as something special that attempts have been made to trace it up to one source, and that it has been regarded by some as the primitive religion of man.

I will now, however, proceed to mention other cases of zoolatry.

Animal worship was very prevalent in America.[1] The Redskins reverenced the bear,[2] the bison, the hare,[3] and the wolf,[4] and some species of birds.[5] The jaguar was worshipped in some parts of Brazil, and especially in La Plata.[6] In South America birds and jaguars seem to have been the specially sacred animals. The owl in Mexico was regarded as an evil spirit;[7] in South America toads,[8] eagles, and goatsuckers were much venerated.[9] The Abipones[10] think that certain little ducks 'which fly about at night uttering a mournful hiss, are 'the souls of the departed.'

[1] Müller, Am. Urr., p. 60, *et seq.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 61.
[3] Schoolcraft, vol. i. p. 316.
[4] Müller, *loc. cit.* p. 257.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 134. Klemm, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 164.
[6] Müller, *loc. cit.* p. 256.
[7] Prescott, vol. i. p. 48.
[8] Depons, Tr. in South America, vol. i. p. 198.
[9] Müller, Amer. Urr., p. 237.
[10] Dobritzhoffer, Hist. of the Abipones, vol. ii. p. 74.

In Yucatan it was customary to leave an infant alone in a place sprinkled with ashes. Next morning the ashes were examined, and if the footprints of any animal were found on them it was chosen as the deity of the infant.[1]

The semi-civilised races of Mexico[2] and Peru were more advanced in their religious conceptions. In the latter the sun was the great deity.[3] Yet in Peru,[4] even at the time of the conquest, many species of animals were still much reverenced, including the fox, dog, llama, condor, eagle, and puma, besides the serpent, and various species of fish. From these animals the various families of Indians were considered to be descended,[5] and each species was supposed to have a representative, or archetype, in heaven.[6] In Mexico a similar feeling prevailed, but neither here nor in Peru can it truly be said that animals at the time of the conquest were nationally regarded as actual deities.

The Polynesians, also, had generally advanced beyond the stage of totemism. The heavenly bodies were not worshipped, and when animals were regarded with veneration, it was rather as representatives of the deities than with the idea that they were really deities. Still, the Tahitians[7] had a superstitious reverence for various kinds of fish and birds, such as the heron, kingfisher, and woodpecker; the latter apparently because they frequented the temples.

[1] De Brosses, Du Culte des Dieux Fétiches, p. 46.

[2] Müller, *loc. cit.* p. 481.

[3] Prescott's History of Peru, p. 88.

[4] Müller, p. 366. Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. i. pp. 47, 168.

[5] Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. i. p. 75.

[6] Prescott's History of Peru, p. 87. Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. i. p. 176.

[7] Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 203.

In the Duke of York group the population was divided into two clans, each called after an insect, and they will on no account injure the insect after which they are named.

The Sandwich Islanders[1] seem to have regarded the raven as sacred,[2] and the New Zealanders, according to Forster, regarded a species of tree creeper as the 'bird 'of the divinity.'[3] The Tongans considered that the deities 'sometimes come into the living bodies of lizards, 'porpoises, and a species of water snake; hence these 'animals are much respected.'[4] At Tukopia the shark was regarded as a divinity.[5] The Kingsmill Islanders also worshipped certain kinds of fish.[6]

The Bishop of Wellington informs us that 'spiders 'were special objects of reverence to Maoris; and, as the 'priests further told them that the souls of the faithful 'went to heaven on gossamer threads, they were very 'careful not to break any spiders' webs, or gossamers. 'Lizards were also supposed to be chosen by the Maori 'gods as favourite abodes.'[7] Moembe, a chief of Vanikoro, regarded a crab as his Atua.[8]

The Hervey Islanders worshipped various animals as messengers or incarnations of the gods.[9]

In the Fiji Islands,[10] besides the serpent, 'certain 'birds, fish, and plants, and some men, are supposed to 'have deities closely connected with or residing in

[1] Cook's Third Voyage, vol. iii. p. 160.

[2] Cook's Voyage to the Pacific, vol. iii. p. 161.

[3] Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 519.

[4] Mariner, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 106.

[5] Rev. d'Anthrop., 1876, p. 268.

[6] Hale, Ethn. of the U. S. Expl. Exp. p. 97.

[7] Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1870, p. 367.

[8] Rev. d'Anthrop., 1876, p. 267.

[9] Gill, Myths of the South Pacific, p. 20.

[10] Williams's Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 219. Seemann, Mission to Viti, p. 392.

'them. At Lakemba, Tui Lakemba, and on Vanua 'Levu, Ravuravu, claim the hawk as their abode; 'Viavia, and other gods, the shark. One is supposed to 'inhabit the eel, and another the common fowl, and so 'on, until nearly every animal becomes the shrine of 'some deity. He who worships the god dwelling in 'the eel must never eat of that fish, and thus of the 'rest; so that some are tabu from eating human flesh, 'because the shrine of their god is a man.' The octopus was worshipped in the Penrhyn Islands, the bat in Samoa, and elsewhere the tree-crab, the centipede, and other animals.

In Siberia Erman mentions that 'the Polar bear, as 'the strongest of God's creatures, and that which seems 'to come nearest to the human being, is as much vene-'rated by the Samoyedes as his black congener by the 'Ostyaks. They even swear by the throat of this 'strong animal, whom they kill and eat; but when it is 'once killed, they show their respect for it in various 'ways.'[1]

Each tribe of the Jakuts 'look on some particular 'creature as sacred, *e.g.* a swan, goose, raven, &c., and 'such is not eaten by that tribe, though the others may 'eat it.'[2] The same feeling extends even to plants; and in China, when the sacred apricot tree is broken to make the spirit-pen, it is customary to write an apology on the bark.[3]

The Hindus, says Dubois,[4] 'in all things extrava-'gant, pay honour and worship, less or more solemn, to 'almost every living creature, whether quadruped, bird,

[1] Erman, vol. ii. p. 55. Müller, Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Emp. Russe, pt. i. p. 107.

[2] Strahlenberg, p. 383.

[3] Tylor, Roy. Inst. Journ., vol. v. p. 527.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 445.

'or reptile.' The cow, the ape, the eagle (known as garuda), and the serpent, receive the highest honours; but the tiger, elephant, horse, stag, sheep, hog, dog, cat, rat, peacock, cock, chameleon, lizard, tortoise, fish, and even insects, have been made objects of worship. The ox is held especially sacred throughout most of India and Ceylon. Among the Todas[1] the 'buffaloes and bell' are fused into an incomprehensible mystic whole, or 'unity, and constitute their prime object of adoration 'and worship.' . . . . 'Towards evening the herd is 'driven back to the tuel, when such of the male and 'female members of the family as are present assemble, 'and make obeisance to the animals.'

Dr. Anderson found the worship of the horse and the snake interwoven with the Buddhism of the Shans of West Yunan.[2] The goose is worshipped in Ceylon,[3] and the alligator in the Philippines. The ancient Egyptians were greatly addicted to animal-worship, and even now Sir S. Baker states that on the White Nile the natives will not eat the ox.[4] The common fowl also is connected with superstitious ceremonies among the Obbo and other Nile tribes.[5] 'The tiger,' says Dalziel, 'is the Fetish of Dahomy.'[6] The King of Ardra, on the Guinea Coast, had certain black birds for his fetiches,[7] and the negroes of Benin also reverence several kinds of birds. The negroes of Guinea regard[8] 'the sword-fish and the bonito as

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vii. pp. 250, 253. See also Ethn. Journ., 1869, p. 97.

[2] Expedition to Western Yunan *viâ* Bhamô, p. 115.

[3] Tennent's Ceylon, vol. i. p. 484.

[4] Albert N'yanza, vol. i. p. 69.

[5] Baker, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 327.

[6] Hist. of Dahomy, p. vi.

[7] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. pp. 72, 99.

[8] Astley, vol. ii. p. 667. Burton's Dahome, vol. ii. pp. 145, 148.

'deities, and such is their veneration for them that 'they never catch either sort designedly. If a sword-'fish happen to be taken by chance, they will not 'eat it till the sword be cut off, which, when dried, 'they regard as a *fetisso*.' They also regard the crocodile as a deity. On the Guinea Coast, says Bosman, 'a 'great part of the negroes believe that man was made 'by Anansie: that is, a great spider.'[1] In South Africa the Malekutus and some Baperis worship the porcupine, while other Baperis regard a monkey as their tutelary deity.[2]

In Madagascar, Ellis[3] tells us that the natives regard crocodiles 'as possessed of supernatural power, invoke 'their forbearance with prayers, or seek protection by 'charms, rather than attack them; even the shaking of 'a spear over the waters would be regarded as an act 'of sacrilegious insult to the sovereign of the flood, 'imperilling the life of the offender the next time he 'should venture on the water.'

The nations of Southern Europe had for the most part advanced beyond animal-worship even in the earliest historical times. The extraordinary sanctity attributed, in the Twelfth Odyssey, to the oxen of the sun, stands almost alone in Greek mythology, and is regarded by Mr. Gladstone as of Phœnician origin. It is true that the horse is spoken of with mysterious respect, and that deities on several occasions assumed the form of birds; but this does not amount to actual worship.

[1] Pinkerton, *loc. cit.* vol. xvi. p. 306.

[2] Arbousset, *loc. cit.* p. 176.

[3] Three Visits to Madagascar, p. 297. See also Sibree, *loc. cit.* p. 193.

The deification of animals explains probably the curious fact that various savage races habitually apologise to the animals which they kill in the chase; thus, the Vogulitzi[1] of Siberia, when they have killed a bear, address it formally, and maintain 'that the blame is to 'be laid on the arrows and iron, which were made and 'forged by the Russians.' The same custom exists among the Ostyaks,[2] the Samoyedes,[3] and the Ainos of Yesso.[4] Schoolcraft[5] mentions a case of an Indian on the shores of Lake Superior begging pardon of a bear which he had shot. Dr. Rae states that all the Northern Americans treat with great respect any bear they may kill, apologising to it, and regretting the disagreeable necessity under which they found themselves.

Before engaging in a hunt the Chippeways have a 'medicine' dance in order to propitiate the spirits of the bears or other game.[6] The Sioux, Minnitarees, and Mandans had a very similar custom. So also in British Columbia,[7] when the fishing season commenced, and the fish began coming up the rivers, the Indians used to meet them, and 'speak to them. They paid 'court to them, and would address them thus: "You '"fish, you fish; you are all chiefs, you are; you are '"all chiefs."'

Among the Northas, when a bear is killed it is dressed in a bonnet, covered with fine down, and solemnly invited into the chief's presence.[8]

[1] Strahlenberg's Voyage to Siberia, p. 97.

[2] Voyages, vol. iv. p. 85.

[3] De Brosses, Dieux Fétiches, p. 61.

[4] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. iv. p. 36.

[5] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. iii. p. 229.

[6] Catlin's Amer. Ind., vol. ii. p. 248.

[7] Metlahkatlah, p. 96.

[8] Bancroft, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 187.

The Koussa Kaffirs[1] had a very similar custom. 'Before a party goes out hunting, a very odd ceremony 'or sport takes place, which they consider as absolutely 'necessary to ensure success to the undertaking. One 'of them takes a handful of grass into his mouth, and 'crawls about upon all-fours to represent some sort of 'game. The rest advance as if they would run him 'through with their spears, raising the hunting cry, till 'at length he falls upon the ground as if dead. If this 'man afterwards kills a head of game, he hangs a claw 'upon his arm as a trophy, but the animal must be 'shared with the rest.'[2] Lichtenstein also mentions that 'if an elephant is killed, they seek to exculpate them-'selves towards the dead animal, by declaring to him 'solemnly that the thing happened entirely by accident, 'not by design.'[2] To make the apology more complete, they cut off the trunk and bury it carefully with much flattery.

The inhabitants living in the neighbourhood of Lake Itasy are accustomed to make a yearly proclamation to the crocodiles, warning them that they will revenge the death of any of their friends 'by killing as many vaày 'in return, and warning the well-disposed crocodiles to 'keep out of the way, as they have no quarrel with 'them, but only with the evil-minded reptiles who 'have taken human life.'[3]

Speaking of a Mandingo who had killed a lion, Gray says:[4] 'As I was not a little surprised at seeing the 'man, who I conceived ought to be rewarded for

[1] Lichtenstein's Travels, vol. i. p. 269. Shooter, the Kaffirs of Natal, p. 215.

[2] Lichtenstein's Travels, vol. i. p. 254.

[3] Folk Lore Record, vol. ii. p. 21.

[4] Gray's Travels in Western Africa, p. 143.

'having first so disabled the animal as to prevent it 'from attacking us, thus treated, I requested an ex- 'planation; and was informed that, being a subject 'only, he was guilty of a great crime in killing or 'shooting a sovereign, and must suffer this punishment 'until released by the chiefs of the village, who, know- 'ing the deceased to have been their enemy, would not 'only do so immediately, but commend the man for his 'good conduct.'

The Steins of Cambodia[1] believe that 'animals also 'have souls which wander about after their death; thus 'when they have killed one, fearing lest its soul should 'come and torment them, they ask pardon for the evil 'they have done to it, and offer sacrifices proportioned 'to the strength and size of the animal.'

The Sumatrans speak of tigers[2] with a degree of 'awe, and hesitate to call them by their common name '(rimau or machang), terming them respectfully satwa '(the wild animals), or even nenek (ancestors); as 'really believing them such, or by way of soothing and 'coaxing them. When an European procures traps to 'be set, by means of persons less superstitious, the in- 'habitants of the neighbourhood have been known to 'go at night to the place, and practise some forms, in 'order to persuade the animals that it was not laid by 'them, or with their consent.'

The deification of inanimate objects seems at first somewhat more difficult to understand than that of animals. The names of individuals, however, would be

[1] Mouhot's Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China, vol. i. p. 252.

[2] Marsden's Hist. of Sumatra, p. 292. See also Depons, Travels in S. America, vol. i. p. 199.

taken not only from animals, but also from inanimate objects, and would thus, as suggested at p. 266, lead to the worship of the latter as well as of the former. Some, moreover, are singularly lifelike. No one, I think, can wonder that rivers should have been regarded as living. The constant movement, the ripples and eddies on their surface, the vibrations of the reeds and other water plants, the murmuring and gurgling sounds, the clearness and transparency of the water, combine to produce a singular effect on the mind even of civilised man.

Seneca long ago observed, that 'if you walk in a 'grove, thick planted with ancient trees of unusual 'growth, the interwoven boughs of which exclude the 'light of heaven; the vast height of the wood, the 'retired secrecy of the place, the deep unbroken gloom 'of shade, impress your mind with the conviction of a 'present deity.'

The savage also is susceptible to such influences, and is naturally prone to personify not only rivers but also other inanimate objects.

Who can wonder at the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, which has been regarded as a special form of religion, and is known as Sabæism? It does not, however, in its original form, essentially differ from mountain or river-worship. To us, with our knowledge of astronomy, sun-worship naturally seems a more sublime form of religion, but we must remember that the lower races who worship the heavenly bodies have no idea of their distance nor, consequently, of their magnitude. Nay, the very distance and magnitude of the sun, combined with the regularity of its course, rendered it the less likely to be selected by the lowest races of

men as an object of worship. Religion is not with them a deep feeling of the soul, but a profound fear of some immediate evil, a desire for some immediate good. Hence the savage worships something which is close to him, something which he can see and hear; and the lawless, turbulent action of the sea gives him more the impression of life and energy than the regular and stately movements of the heavenly bodies. Even when these are worshipped, it is in entire ignorance of their real magnitude and grandeur. The people of Chincha, in Peru, worshipped the sea rather than the sun, 'which 'did them no good at all, but rather annoyed them by 'its excessive heat.'[1] Hence the curious ideas with reference to eclipses which I have already mentioned (p. 236). Again, in illustration of the same fact, the New Zealanders believed that Mawe, their ancestor, caught the sun in a noose, and wounded it so severely that its movements have been slower, and the days consequently longer, ever since.[2] According to another account, Mawe 'tied a string to the sun and fastened 'it to the moon, that as the former went down, the 'other, being pulled after it by the superior power of 'the sun, may rise and give light during his absence.'[3] A very similar story also occurs in Samoa.[4]

Even the Greeks were disposed to regard the earth as a living entity.

'The name of Earth,' says Plutarch,[5] 'is dear to all, 'and to the Greek even venerable; and with us it is the

[1] Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. i. p. 149.
[2] Polynesian Mythology, p. 35.
[3] Yate, *loc. cit.* p. 143.
[4] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 248.
[5] Plutarch's Morals.

'hereditary rule to worship her in the same way as any 'other Deity. We men are far from thinking the moon, 'which is a celestial earth, to be a body without life, and 'without mind, and destitute of those things which the 'Gods have a right to enjoy.'

We must always bear in mind that the savage notion of a deity is essentially different from that entertained by higher races. Instead of being supernatural, he is merely a part of nature. This goes far to explain the tendency to deification which at first seems so strange.

A good illustration, and one which shows how easily deities are created by men in this frame of mind, is mentioned by Lichtenstein. The king of the Koussa Kaffirs having broken off a piece of a stranded anchor, died soon afterwards, upon which all the Kaffirs looked upon the anchor as alive, and saluted it respectfully whenever they passed near it.[1] Again, the natives near Sydney made it an invariable rule never to whistle when beneath a particular cliff, because on one occasion a rock fell from it, and crushed some natives who were whistling underneath it.[2]

A very interesting case is recorded by Mr. Fergusson.[3] 'The following instance of tree-worship,' he says, 'which I myself witnessed, is amusing, even if not 'instructive. While residing in Tessore, I observed at 'one time considerable crowds passing near the factory 'I then had charge of. As it might be merely an ordi-'nary fair they were going to attend, I took no notice ;

[1] Travels, vol. i. p. 254.

[2] Collins' English Colony in N. S. Wales, p. 382.

[3] Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 74.

'but as the crowd grew daily larger, and assumed a 'more religious character, I inquired, and was told that 'a god had appeared in a tree at a place about six miles 'off. Next morning I rode over, and found a large 'space cleared in a village I knew well, in the centre of 'which stood an old decayed date tree, hung with gar- 'lands and offerings. Around it houses were erected 'for the attendant Brahmins, and a great deal of busi- 'ness was going on in offerings and Pûjâ. On my 'inquiring how the god manifested his presence, I was 'informed that soon after the sun rose in the morning 'the tree raised its head to welcome him, and bowed it 'down again when he departed. As this was a miracle 'easily tested, I returned at noon and found it was so! 'After a little study and investigation the mystery 'did not seem difficult of explanation. The tree had 'originally grown across the principal pathway through 'the village, but at last hung so low that, in order to 'enable people to pass under it, it had been turned 'aside and fastened parallel to the road. In the opera- 'tion the bundle of fibres which composed the root had 'become twisted like the strands of a rope. When the 'morning sun struck on the upper surface of these, they 'contracted in drying, and hence a tendency to un- 'twist, which raised the head of the tree. With the 'evening dews they relaxed, and the head of the tree 'declined, thus proving to the man of science, as to the 'credulous Hindu that it was due to the direct action 'of the Sun God.'

The savage, indeed, accounts for all movement by life.[1] Hence the wind is a living being. Nay, even

[1] Dogs appear to do the same.

motionless objects are regarded in a particular stage of mental progress as possessing spirits. The Karens believe that every object has its special spirit.[1] The chief of Teah could hardly be persuaded but that Lander's watch was alive and had the power of moving.[2] It is probably for this reason that in most languages inanimate objects are distinguished by genders, being at first regarded as either male or female. Hence also the practice of breaking or burning the weapons, &c., buried with the dead.[3] Thus, the Wotyaks of Siberia are said to break the knife which they generally bury with the dead.[4] Franklin records it of Chippewayans, and a similar custom prevails among the Tinneh, and other North American tribes. The Ainos, also, always break the things deposited with the dead.[5] The Todas burn the property of the dead, though silver and other valuables are only passed through the fire. It is possible that in some cases the destruction of the property of the deceased may simply have arisen from a dislike to use articles which have belonged to the dead. In other instances this is certainly not the case. Thus, among the fishermen of Lob Nor in Central Asia, according to Col. Prejevalsky, when a man dies half his nets are buried with him, half being retained by his heir. It has been generally supposed that this destruction of the objects buried with the dead was merely to prevent them from being a temptation to robbers. This

[1] The Karens of the Gold Chersonese, p. 121.

[2] Niger Expedition, vol. ii. p. 220.

[3] Livingstone's Zambesi, p. 522. John's Hill Tribes of Aracan, Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. ii. p. 238. Shooter, Kaffirs of Natal, p. 161.

[4] Cartailhac, Mat. pour servir à l'Hist. de l'Homme, 1876, p. 88.

[5] Rev. J. Bachelor in Nature, 1888, p. 331.

is not so, however; savages do not invade the sanctity of the tomb. Just, however, as they kill a man's wives and slaves, his favourite horse or dog, that they may accompany him to the other world, so do they 'kill' the weapons, that the spirits of the bows, &c., may also go with their master, and that he may enter the other world armed as a chief should be. Thus the Tahitians[1] believed 'that not only all other animals, but trees, 'fruit, and even stones, have souls which, at death or 'upon being consumed or broken, ascend to the divinity, 'with whom they first mix, and afterwards pass into 'the mansion allotted to each.' The Utes Indians also destroyed the property of the dead, and then buried it with him.[2]

The Fijians[3] considered that 'if an animal or a 'plant die, its soul immediately goes to Bolotoo; if a 'stone or any other substance is broken, immortality is 'equally its reward; nay, artificial bodies have equal 'good luck with men, and hogs, and yams. If an axe 'or a chisel is worn out or broken up, away flies its 'soul for the service of the gods. If a house is taken 'down, or any way destroyed, its immortal part will 'find a situation on the plains of Bolotoo.'

The Finns believed that all inanimate objects had their 'haltia,' or soul.[4]

Sproat,[5] speaking of N.-W. America, says that 'when the dead are buried, the friends often burn

[1] Cook's Third Voyage, vol. ii. p. 166.

[2] Yarrow, Mortuary Customs among the North American Indians, p. 31.

[3] Mariner, *loc cit.* vol. ii. p. 137. Seemann's Mission to Viti, pp. 392, 398.

[4] Castren. Finn. Myth., pp. 170, 182.

[5] Sproat's Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 213.

'blankets with them, for by destroying the blankets in 'this upper world, they send them also with the de- 'parted soul to the world below.' The Red Indian, says Col. Dodge, perfectly understands that the dead does not actually take to the land of spirits the material articles buried with him, but they think that 'the spirit 'of the dead man will have the use of the phantoms of 'those articles.' [1]

Among the Hill tribes of India the Garos break the objects buried with the dead, who 'would not benefit 'by them if they were given unbroken.' [2] In China,[3] 'if the dead man was a person of note, the Bonzes make 'great processions; the mourners following them with 'candles and perfumes burning in their hands. They 'offer sacrifices at certain distances, and perform the 'obsequies, in which they burn statues of men, women, 'horses, saddles, and other things, and abundance of 'paper money; all which, they believe, in the next life, 'are converted into real ones, for the use of the party 'deceased, or in some cases forwarded in his care to 'friends who had gone before.' [4]

Thus, then, by man in this stage of progress everything was regarded as having life, and being more or less a deity.

'Africans, as a rule,' says Captain Burton, 'wor- 'ship everything except the Creator.' [5]

In India, says Dubois,[6] 'a woman adores the basket 'which serves to bring or to hold her necessaries, and

[1] Dodge, Hunting Grounds of the Great West, p. 284.

[2] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 67.

[3] Astley, vol. iv. p. 94.

[4] Primitive Culture, vol. i. p. 445.

[5] Burton's Dahome, vol. ii. p. 134.

[6] People of India, p. 373. See also pp. 383, 386.

'offers sacrifices to it; as well as to the rice-mill, and 'other implements that assist her in her household 'labours. A carpenter does the like homage to his 'hatchet, his adze, and other tools; and likewise offers 'sacrifices to them. A Brahman does so to the style 'with which he is going to write; a soldier to the arms 'he is to use in the field; a mason to his trowel, and a 'labourer to his plough.' Amongst the Karens every object of nature is supposed to have its guardian spirit.[1]

The popular religion of the Andean people, says Mr. Clements Markham,[2] 'consisted in the belief that 'all things in nature had an ideal or soul which ruled 'and guided them, and to which men might pray for 'help.'

In the words of Sir S. Baker:[3] 'Should the present 'history of the country be written by an Arab scribe, 'the style of the description would be purely that of 'the Old Testament, and the various calamities or the 'good fortunes that have in the course of nature be-'fallen both the tribes and the individuals would be re-'counted either as special visitations of Divine wrath, 'or blessings for good deeds performed. If in a dream 'a particular course of action is suggested, the Arab 'believes that God has *spoken* and directed him. The 'Arab scribe or historian would describe the event as 'the "*voice* of the Lord" (Kallam el Allah) having 'spoken unto the person; or, that God appeared 'to him in a dream and "*said*, &c." Thus, much

[1] M'Mahon, Karens of the Gold. Chers., p. 121.

[2] Rites and Laws of the Incas, p. 11.

[3] The Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia, by Sir S. W. Baker, p. 130.

'allowance would be necessary, on the part of a Euro-
'pean reader, for the figurative ideas and expressions
'of the people.'

Mr. Fergusson, indeed, regards tree-worship in association with serpent-worship as the primitive faith of mankind. Mr. Wake[1] also says: 'How are we to 'account for the Polynesians also affixing a sacred 'character to a species of the banyan, called by them 'the ava tree, and for the same phenomenon being 'found among the African tribes on the Zambesi and 'the Shire, among the negroes of Western equatorial 'Africa, and even in Northern Australia? Such a 'fact as this cannot be accounted for as a mere coin-
'cidence.'

Since, however, tree-worship equally prevails in America, we cannot regard it as any 'evidence of the 'common origin of the various races which practise' it. It is, however, one among many illustrations that the human mind, in its upward progress, everywhere passes through the same or very similar phases.

Tree-worship formerly existed in Assyria, Greece,[2] Poland,[3] and France. In Persia Sir T. Chardin frequently mentions sacred trees on which were hung garments, rags, and amulets; Tacitus[4] mentions the sacred groves of Germany, and those of England are familiar to everyone. In the eighth century, St. Boniface found it necessary to cut down a sacred oak; even recently an oak copse at Loch Siant, in the Isle of Skye, was held so sacred that no person would venture to cut

[1] Chapters on Man, p. 250.
[2] Baumcultus der Hellenen, Botticher. 1856.
[3] Olaus Magnus, Bk. III. ch. i.
[4] Tacitus, Germania, ix.

the smallest branch from it;[1] and it is said that oak-worship is still practised in Livonia.[2]

Trees were worshipped by the ancient Celts, and De Brosses[3] even derives the word kirk, now softened into church, from *quercus*, an oak; that species being peculiarly sacred. The Lapps also used to worship trees.[4]

At the present day tree-worship prevails throughout Central Africa, south of Egypt and the Sahara.[5] The Shangallas in Bruce's time worshipped 'trees, 'serpents, the moon, planets, and stars.'[6] The date tree, says Burckhardt, 'was worshipped by the tribe 'Khozaa; and the Benit Thekyf adored the rock called 'El Lat; a large tree, called Zat Arowat, was revered 'by the Koreysh.'[7] The negroes of Guinea[8] worshipped three deities—serpents, trees, and the sea. Park[9] observed a tree on the confines of Bondou hung with innumerable offerings, principally rags. 'It had,' he says, 'a very singular appearance, being decorated 'with innumerable rags or strips of cloth, which per-'sons travelling across the wilderness had tied to the 'branches.'

In Central Africa Barth[10] mentions the sacred groves of the Marghi—a dense part of the forest surrounded with a ditch, where, in the most luxuriant and widest-spreading tree, their god 'Zumbi is wor-'shipped.'

[1] Early Races of Scotland, vol. i. p. 171.

[2] Jour. Anthr. Inst., 1873, p. 275.

[3] De Brosses, *loc. cit.* p. 175.

[4] De Brosses, *loc. cit.* p. 169.

[5] Park, p. 65.

[6] Travels, vol. iv. p. 35. See also vol. vi. p. 344.

[7] Travels in Arabia, vol. i. p. 299.

[8] Voyage to Guinea, p. 195. Bosman, Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 494. Merolla, Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 236.

[9] Travels, 1817, vol. i. pp. 64, 106. See also Caillié, vol. i. p. 156.

[10] Travels, vol. ii. p. 380.

The negroes of Congo[1] adored a sacred tree called '"Mirrone." One is generally planted near the houses 'as if it were the tutelar god of the dwelling, the 'Gentiles adoring it as one of their idols.' They place calabashes of palm wine at the feet of these trees, in case they should be thirsty. Bosman also states that along the Guinea Coast almost every village has its sacred grove.[2] At Addacoodah, Oldfield[3] saw a 'gigantic tree, twelve yards and eight inches in circum-'ference. I soon found it was considered sacred, and 'had several arrows stuck in it, from which were sus-'pended fowls, several sorts of birds, and many other 'things, which had been offered by the natives to it as 'a deity.' Chapman mentions a sacred tree among the Kaffirs, which was hung with numerous offerings.[4]

The Bo tree is much worshipped in India[5] and Ceylon.[6] 'The planting of the Râjâyatana tree by 'Buddha,' says Fergusson, 'has already been alluded 'to, but the history of the transference of a branch of 'the Bo tree from the Buddh-gyâ to Anurâdhapura is 'as authentic and as important as any event recorded 'in the Ceylonese annals. Sent by Asoka (250 B.C.), 'it was received with the utmost reverence by Devanam-'piyatisso, and planted in the most conspicuous spot in 'the centre of his capital. There it has been reverenced 'as the chief and most important "numen" of Ceylon

[1] Merolla's Voyage to Congo. Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 236. Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 95, 97.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 399. See also Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 26. Tuckey's Narrative, p. 181. Livingstone's South Africa, p. 495.

[3] Expedition, vol. ii. p. 117.

[4] Travels, vol. ii. p. 50. Klemm quotes also Villault, Rel. des Costes d'Afrique S., pp. 263, 267. Arbousset, *loc. cit.* p. 104.

[5] Tree and Serpent Worship, pp. 56, *et seq.*

[6] *Ibid.* p. 56.

'for more than 2,000 years, and it, or its lineal de-
'scendant, sprung at least from the old root, is there
'worshipped at this hour. The city is in ruins; its
'great dagobas have fallen to decay; its monasteries
'have disappeared; but the great Bo tree still
'flourishes according to the legend—ever green, never
'growing or decreasing, but living on for ever for the
'delight and worship of mankind. Annually thou-
'sands repair to the sacred precincts within which
'it stands, to do it honour, and to offer up those
'prayers for health and prosperity which are more
'likely to be answered if uttered in its presence. There
'is probably no older idol in the world, certainly none
'more venerated.'

Some of the Chittagong Hill tribes worship the bamboo,[1] and in the Simla Hills *Cupressus torulosa* is regarded as a sacred tree.[2] In Beerbhoom, tree-worship is very general, and 'once a year the whole capital 'repairs to a shrine in the jungle.'[3] This shrine consists of three trees, but it would appear that they are now venerated rather as the abodes of deities, than as the actual deities themselves. The Khyens also worship a thick bushy tree called Subri.[4]

In Siberia the Jakuts have sacred trees on which they 'hang all manner of nicknacks, as iron, brass, 'copper, &c.'[5] The Ostyaks also, as Pallas informs us, used to worship trees.[6] 'There was pointed out to us,'

[1] Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 10. Dalton's Trans. Ethn. Soc., vol. vi. p. 34.

[2] Thompson's Travels in W. Himalaya, p. 19.

[3] Hunter's Annals of Rural Bengal, 1868, p. 131.

[4] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 115.

[5] Strahlenberg's Travels in Siberia, p. 381.

[6] *Loc. cit.* vol. iv. p. 79.

says Erman, 'as an important monument of an early 'epoch in the history of Beresov,[1] a larch about fifty 'feet high, and now, through age, flourishing only at 'the top, which has been preserved in the churchyard. 'In former times, when the Ostyak rulers dwelt in 'Beresov, this tree was the particular object of their 'adoration. In this, as in many other instances, ob- 'served by the Russians, the peculiar sacredness of the 'tree was due to the singularity of its form and growth, 'for about six feet from the ground the trunk separated 'into two equal parts, and again united. It was the 'custom of the superstitious natives to place costly 'offerings of every kind in the opening of the trunk; 'nor have they yet abandoned the usage.' Hanway,[2] in his Travels in Persia, mentions a tree 'to which 'were affixed a number of rags left there as health- 'offerings by persons afflicted with ague. This was 'besides a desolate caravanserai where the traveller 'found nothing but water.'

In some parts[3] of Sumatra likewise 'they super- 'stitiously believe that certain trees, particularly those 'of venerable appearance, are the residence, or rather 'the material frame, of spirits of the woods; an opinion 'which exactly answers to the idea entertained by the 'ancients of the dryades and hamadryades. At Ben- 'kunat, in the Lampong country, there is a long stone, 'standing on a flat one, supposed by the people to 'possess extraordinary power of virtue. It is reported

[1] Erman's Travels in Siberia, vol. i. p. 464. See also Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Emp. Russe, pt. xi. p. 43.

[2] Quoted in the Early Races of Scotland, vol. i. p. 163. See also De Brosses, *loc. cit.* pp. 144, 145.

[3] Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 301.

'to have been once thrown down into the water, and 'to have raised itself again into its original position, 'agitating the elements at the same time with a pro- 'digious storm. To approach it without respect they 'believe to be the source of misfortune to the offender.'

Among the natives of the Philippines also we find the worship of trees.[1] They 'believed that the world at 'first consisted only of sky and water, and between these 'two a glede (hawk); which, weary with flying about, 'and finding no place to rest, set the water at variance 'with the sky, which, in order to keep it in bounds, 'and that it should not get uppermost, loaded the water 'with a number of islands, in which the glede might 'settle and leave them at peace. Mankind, they said, 'sprang out of a large cane with two joints; that floating 'about in the water was at length thrown by the waves 'against the feet of the glede, as it stood on shore, 'which opened it with its bill; the man came out of one 'joint, the woman out of the other. These were soon 'after married by the consent of their god, Bathala 'Meycapal, which caused the first trembling of the 'earth; and from thence are descended the different 'nations of the world.'

The Fijians also worshipped certain plants.[2] Tree-worship was less prevalent in America. Trees and plants were worshipped by the Mandans and Monitarees.[3] A large ash was venerated by the Indians of Lake Superior.[4]

In North America, Franklin[5] describes a sacred tree

[1] Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 303.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 219.

[3] Müller, Amer. Urrel., p. 59.

[4] Müller, Amer. Urrel., p. 125.

[5] Journeys to the Polar Sea, vol. i p. 221.

on which the Crees 'had hung strips of buffalo flesh 'and pieces of cloth.' They complained to him of some 'Stone Indians, who, two nights before, had stripped 'their revered tree of many of its offerings.' In Mexico Mr. Tylor[1] observed an ancient cypress of remarkable size: 'all over its branches were fastened votive offer-'ings of the Indians, hundreds of locks of coarse black 'hair, teeth, bits of coloured cloth, rags and morsels of 'ribbon.' In Nicaragua, not only large trees, but even maize and beans, were worshipped.[2] Maize was also worshipped in the Peruvian province of Huanca.[3]

In Patagonia, Mr. Darwin[4] mentions a sacred tree 'which the Indians reverence as the altar of Walleechu. 'It is situated on a high part of the plain, and hence is 'a landmark visible at a great distance. As soon as a 'tribe of Indians come in sight of it they offer their 'adorations by loud shouts. . . . Being winter, the 'tree had no leaves, but in their place numberless 'threads, by which the various offerings, such as cigars, 'bread, meat, pieces of cloth, &c., had been suspended. 'Poor people, not having anything better, only pulled 'a thread out of their ponchoo, and fastened it to the 'tree. The Indians, moreover, were accustomed to 'pour spirits and maté into a certain hole, and like-'wise to smoke upwards, thinking thus to afford all 'possible gratification to Walleechu. To complete the 'scene, the tree was surrounded by the bleached bones 'of the horses which had been slaughtered as sacrifices.'

[1] Anahuac, p. 215. He mentions a second case of the same sort on p. 265.

[2] Müller, *loc. cit.* p. 494. See also p. 491.

[3] Martius, *loc. cit.* p. 80. G. de la Vega, Commem. of the Incas, vol. i. pp. 47, 331.

[4] Researches in Geology and Natural History, p. 79.

The Abenaquis also had a sacred tree.[1]

Thus, then, this form of religion can be shown to be general to most of the great races of men at a certain stage of mental development.[2]

We will now pass to the worship of lakes, rivers, and springs, which we shall find to have been not less widely distributed. It was at one time very prevalent in Western Europe. Herodotus mentions the existence of sacred lakes among the Libyans.[3] According to Cicero, Justin, and Strabo, there was a lake near Toulouse in which the neighbouring tribes used to deposit offerings of gold and silver. Tacitus, Pliny, and Virgil also allude to sacred lakes. In the sixth century, Gregory of Tours mentions a sacred lake on Mount Helanus.

In Brittany there is the celebrated well of St. Anne of Auray, and the sacred fountain at Lanmeur, in the crypt of the church of St. Melars, to which crowds of pilgrims still resort.[4]

In our own country traces of water-worship are also abundant. It is expressly mentioned by Gildas, and is said to be denounced in a Saxon homily preserved in Cambridge.[5] 'At St. Fillan's[6] well, at Comrie, in 'Perthshire, numbers of persons in search of health, so 'late as 1791, came or were brought to drink of the 'water and bathe in it. All these walked or were 'carried three times deasil (sunwise) round the well.

[1] De Brosses, Du Culte des Dieux Fétiches, p. 51. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 146.

[2] Early Races of Scotland, vol. i. p. 158.

[3] Melpomene, 158, 181.

[4] Mon. Hist. Brit. vii.

[5] Wright's Superstitions of England.

[6] Early Races of Scotland, vol. i. p. 156.

'They also threw each a white stone on an adjacent 'cairn, and left behind a scrap of their clothing as an 'offering to the genius of the place.' In the Scotch islands also are many sacred wells, and I have myself seen the holy well in one of the islands of Loch Maree surrounded by the little offerings of the peasantry, consisting principally of rags and halfpence.

Colonel Forbes Leslie[1] observes that in Scotland 'there are few parishes without a holy well;' nor was it much less general in Ireland. The kelpie, or spirit of the waters, assumed various forms, that of a man, woman, horse, or bull being the most common. Scotland and Ireland are full of legends about this spirit, a firm belief in the existence of which was general in the last century, and is even now far from abandoned.

Of river-worship we have many cases recorded in Greek history.[2] Peleus dedicated a lock of Achilles' hair to the river Spercheios. The Pulians sacrificed a bull to Alpheios; Themis summoned the rivers to the great Olympian assembly. Okeanos, the Ocean, and various fountains were regarded as divinities. Water-worship in the time of Homer was, however, gradually ebbing away; and belonged rather, I think, to an earlier stage in development, than, as Mr. Gladstone believes, to a different race.[3]

In Northern Asia, the Tunguses[4] and Votyaks[5] worship various springs. De Brosses mentions that the

[1] See Forbes Leslie's Early Races of Scotland, vol. i. p. 145. Campbell's Tales of the West Highlands.

[2] Juventus Mundi, p. 190.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 177, 187.

[4] Pallas, vol. iv. p. 641.

[5] Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Emp. Russe, pt. ii. p. 80.

'River Sogd was worshipped at Samarcand.[1] In[2] the 'tenth century a schism took place in Persia among 'the Armenians, one party being accused of despising 'the holy well of Vagarschiebat.'

The Bouriats also, though Buddhists, have sacred lakes. Atkinson thus describes one. In an after-dinner ramble, he says,[3] 'I came upon the small and pictu-'resque lake of Ikeougoun, which lies in the mountains 'to the north of San-ghin-dalai, and is held in venera-'tion. They have erected a small wooden temple on 'the shore, and here they come to sacrifice, offering up 'milk, butter, and the fat of the animals, which they 'burn on the little altars. The large rock in the lake 'is with them a sacred stone, on which some rude 'figures are traced; and on the bank opposite they 'place rods with small silk flags, having inscriptions 'printed on them.' Lake Ahoosh also is accounted sacred among the Baskirs.[4]

The divinity of water, says Dubois, is recognised by 'all the people of India.'[5] Besides the well-known worship of the holy Ganges, the tribes of the Neilgherry Hills[6] worship rivers under the name of Gangamma, and in crossing them it is usual to drop a coin into the water as an offering and the price of a safe passage. In the Deccan and in Ceylon trees and bushes near springs may often be seen covered with votive offerings.[7] The worship of rivers also prevails among many of the

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 146.

[2] Whipple, Report on the Indian Tribes, p. 44.

[3] Siberia, p. 445.

[4] Atkinson's Oriental and Western Siberia, p. 141.

[5] The People of India, p. 125. See also pp. 376, 419.

[6] The Tribes of the Neilgherry Hills, p. 68.

[7] Early Races of Scotland, vol. i. p. 163.

Hill tribes, as, for instance, the Karrias, Santhals, Khonds, &c.[1] The Karens[2] and Burmese also 'have 'sacred wells, ... the waters of which are inhabited 'by spirits, which carry off girls, just like the Scotch 'water-spirits.' The people of Sumatra 'are said to pay 'a kind of adoration to the sea, and to make it an offer- 'ing of cakes and sweatmeats on their beholding it for the 'first time, deprecating its power of doing them harm.'[3]

In the Ashantee country, Bosman mentions 'the 'Chamascian river, or Rio de San Juan, called by the 'negroes Bossum Pra, which they adore as a god, as 'the word Bossum signifies.'[4] The Eufrates, the principal river of Whydah, is also looked on as sacred, and a yearly procession is made to it.[5] Phillips[6] mentions that on one occasion in 1693, when the sea was unusually rough, the Kabosheers complained to the king, who 'desired them to be easy, and he would make the 'sea quiet next day. Accordingly he sent his *fetish-* 'man with a jar of palm oil, a bag of rice and corn, a 'jar of *pitto*, a bottle of brandy, a piece of painted calico, 'and several other things to present to the sea. Being 'come to the seaside (as the author was informed by 'his men who saw the ceremony), he made a speech to 'it, assuring it that his king was its friend, and loved 'the white men; that they were honest fellows, and 'came to trade with him for what he wanted; and that 'he requested the sea not to be angry, nor hinder them

[1] Early Races of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 497. Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 159.

[2] M'Mahon, The Karens of the Gold. Chersonese, pp. 307, 343.

[3] Marsden, *loc. cit.* p. 301.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 348. See also p. 494. Smith's Voyage to Guinea, p. 197.

[5] Astley, *loc. cit.* p. 26.

[6] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 411.

'to land their goods; he told it that if it wanted palm 'oil, his king had sent it some; and so threw the jar 'with the oil into the sea, as he did, with the same 'compliment, the rice, corn, *pitto*, brandy, calico, &c.' Again, Villault[1] mentions that lakes, rivers, and ponds come in also for their share of worship. He was present at a singular ceremony near Akkra. A great number of blacks assembled about a pond, bringing with them a sheep and some gallipots, which they offered to the pond, M. Villault being informed 'that this lake, or 'pond, being one of their deities, and the common 'messenger of all the rivers of their country, they threw 'in the gallipots with these ceremonies to implore his 'assistance; and to beg him to carry immediately that 'pot, in their name, to other rivers and lakes to buy 'water for them, and hoped, at his return, he would 'pour the pot-full on their corn, that they might have a 'good crop.'

Some of the negroes on the Guinea Coast[2] 'looked 'on the whites as the gods of the sea; that the mast 'was a divinity that made the ship walk, and the pump 'was a miracle, since it could make water rise up, whose 'natural property is to descend.' Mr. Creswick, in his description of the Veys, says,[3] 'There is a dangerous 'rock in the Mafa river, which is never passed without 'giving tribute, either a leaf of tobacco, a handful of 'rice, or drink of rum, as a peace-offering to the spirit 'of the flood.' On the Zambesi, the natives place offerings on the rocks in dangerous places, to propitiate the spirits of the waters.[4]

[1] Astley's Collection of Voyages, p. 668. [2] Astley, vol. ii. p. 105. [3] Trans. Ethn. Soc., vol. vi. p. 359. [4] Livingstone's Zambesi, p. 41.

In North America the Dacotahs[1] worship a god of the waters under the name of Unktahe. They say that 'this god and its associates are seen in their dreams. It 'is the master-spirit of all their juggling and superstitious belief. From it the medicine-men obtain their 'supernatural powers, and a great part of their religion 'springs from this god.' Franklin[2] mentions that, the wife of one of his Indian guides being ill, her husband 'made an offering to the water-spirits, whose wrath he 'apprehended to be the cause of her malady. It consisted of a knife, a piece of tobacco, and some other 'trifling articles, which were tied up in a small bundle, 'and committed to the rapid.' Carver[3] observes that when the Redskins 'arrive on the borders of Lake 'Superior, on the banks of the Mississippi, or any other 'great body of water, they present to the spirit who 'resides there some kind of offering, as the prince of 'the Winnebagoes did when he attended me to the Falls 'of St. Anthony.' Tanner also gives instances of this custom.[4] On one occasion a Redskin, addressing the spirit of the waters, 'told him that he had come a long 'way to pay his adorations to him, and now would 'make him the best offerings in his power. He 'accordingly first threw his pipe into the stream; then 'the roll that contained his tobacco; after these, the 'bracelets he wore on his arms and wrists; next an 'ornament that encircled his neck, composed of beads 'and wires; and at last the earrings from his ears; in

[1] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, pt. iii. p. 485.

[2] Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, 1819–22, vol. ii. p. 245.

[3] Carver's Travels, p. 383.

[4] Narrative of the Captivity of John Tanner, p. 46.

'short, he presented to his god every part of his dress 'that was valuable.'[1] The Mandans also were in the habit of sacrificing to the spirit of the waters.[2]

In North Mexico, near the 35th parallel, Lieutenant Whipple found a sacred spring which from time immemorial 'had been held sacred to the rain-god.'[3] No animal may drink of its waters. It must be annually cleansed with ancient vases, which, having been transmitted from generation to generation by the caciques, are then placed upon the walls, never to be removed. The frog, the tortoise, and the rattlesnake, represented upon them, are sacred to Montezuma, the patron of the place, who would consume by lightning any sacrilegious hand that should dare to take the relics away. In Nicaragua rain was worshipped under the name of Quiateot. The principal water-god of Mexico, however, was Tlaloc, who was worshipped by the Toltecs, Chichemecs, and Aztecs.[4] In New Mexico, not far from Zuni, Dr. Bell[5] describes a sacred spring 'about eight 'feet in diameter, walled round with stones, of which 'neither cattle nor men may drink: the animals sacred 'to water (frogs, tortoises, and snakes) alone must 'enter the pool. Once a year the cacique and his 'attendants perform certain religious rites at the 'spring: it is thoroughly cleared out; water-pots are 'brought as an offering to the spirit of Montezuma, and 'are placed bottom upwards on the top of the wall of 'stones.' In Peru the sea, under the name of Mama Cocha, was the principal deity of the Chinchas.[6] The

[1] *Ibid.* p. 67.

[2] Catlin's North American Indians, vol. i. p. 160.

[3] Report on the Indian Tribes, p. 40.

[4] Müller, Amer. Urrel., p. 496.

[5] Ethn. Journ., 1869, p. 227.

[6] Müller, Amer. Urrel., p. 368.

Indians of the Coast, says Garcilasso de la Vega, 'from 'Truxillo to Tarapaca, which are at the northern and 'southern extremities of Peru, worshipped the sea in 'the shape of a fish.'[1] One branch of the Collas deduced their origin from a river, the others from a spring;[2] there was also a special rain-goddess. In Paraguay[3] also the rivers are propitiated by offerings of tobacco.

We will now pass to the worship of stones and mountains, a form of religion not less general than those already described.

M. Dulaure, in his 'Histoire Abrégée des Cultes,' explains the origin of stone-worship as arising from the respect paid to boundary-stones. I do not doubt that the worship of some particular stones may thus have originated. Hermes, or Termes, was evidently of this character, and hence we may perhaps explain the peculiar characteristics of Hermes, or Mercury, whose symbol was an upright stone.

Mercury, or Hermes, says Lemprière, 'was the mes-'senger of the gods. He was the patron of travellers 'and shepherds; he conducted the souls of the dead 'into the infernal regions, and not only presided over 'orators, merchants, and declaimers, but he was also the 'god of thieves, pickpockets, and all dishonest persons.' He invented letters and the lyre, and was the originator of arts and sciences.

It is difficult at first to see the connection between these various offices, characterised as they are by such opposite peculiarities. Yet they all follow, I think, from the custom of marking boundaries by upright stones.

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 148.

[2] Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. i. p. 168.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 258.

Hence the name Hermes, or Termes, the boundary. In the troublous times of old, it was usual, in order to avoid disputes, to leave a tract of neutral territory between the possessions of different nations. These were called marches ; hence the title of Marquis, which means an officer appointed to watch the frontier or 'march.' These marches, not being cultivated, served as grazing grounds. To them came merchants in order to exchange on neutral ground the products of their respective countries, they were, in fact, the first markets ; here also for the same reason treaties were negotiated. Here again international games and sports were held. Upright stones were used to indicate places of burial ; and lastly on them were engraved laws and decrees, records of remarkable events, and the praises of the deceased.

Hence Mercury, represented by a plain upright stone, was the god of travellers because he was a landmark ; of shepherds as presiding over the pastures ; he conducted the souls of the dead into the infernal regions because even in very early days upright stones were used as tombstones ; he was the god of merchants, because commerce was carried on principally at the frontiers ; and of thieves out of sarcasm. He was the messenger of the gods because ambassadors met at the frontiers ; and of eloquence for the same reason. He invented the lyre, and presided over games, because contests in music, &c., were held on neutral ground ; and he was regarded as the author of letters, because inscriptions were engraved on upright pillars.

Stone-worship, however, in its simpler forms has, I think, a different origin from this and is merely a form of that indiscriminate worship which characterises the

human mind in a particular phase of development. Pallas states that the Ostyaks[1] and Tunguses worship mountains,[2] and the Tartars stones.[3] Near Lake Baikal[4] is a sacred rock which is regarded as the special abode of an evil spirit, and is consequently much feared by the natives. In India stone-worship is very prevalent, especially among the aboriginal tribes. The Asagas of Mysore 'worship a god called Bhuma Devam, who is 'represented by a shapeless stone.'[5] 'One thing is cer-'tain,' says Mr. Hislop, 'the worship (of stones) is 'spread over all parts of the country from Berar to the 'extreme east of Bustar, and that not merely among the 'Hinduised aborigines, who had begun to honour Khan-'dova, &c., but among the rudest and most savage 'tribes. He is generally adored in the form of an un-'shapely stone covered with vermilion.'[6] 'Two rude 'slave castes in Tulava (Southern India), the Bakadara 'and Betadára, worship a benevolent deity named Buta, 'represented by a stone kept in every house.'[7] 'Indeed, 'in every part of Southern India, four or five stones may 'often be seen in the ryots' field placed in a row and 'daubed with red paint, which they consider as guardians 'of the field and call the five Pandus.'[8] Colonel Forbes Leslie supposes that this red paint is intended to represent blood.[9] The god of each Khond village is represented by three stones.[10] Pl. III. represents a group of

[1] Voyages de Pallas, vol. iv. p. 79.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 434, 648.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 514, 598.
[4] Hill's Travels in Siberia, vol. ii. p. 142.
[5] Buchanan's Journey, vol. i. p. 338. Quoted in Ethn. Journ., vol. viii. p. 96.
[6] Aboriginal Tribes, p. 16. Quoted in Ethn. Journ., vol. viii. p. 96.
[7] J. Ethn. Soc., vol. viii. p. 115.
[8] *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 125.
[9] Early Races of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 462.
[10] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 497.

INDIAN SQUARE, BENGAL.

Plate III.

sacred stones, near Delgaum in the Dekkan, from a figure given by Colonel Forbes Leslie in his interesting work.[1] The three largest stood 'in front of the centre 'of two straight lines, each of which consisted of thir-'teen stones. These lines were close together, and the 'edges of the stones were placed as near to each other 'as it was possible to do with slabs which, although 'selected, had never been artificially shaped. The stone 'in the centre of each line was nearly as high as the 'highest of the three that stood in front; but the 'others gradually decreased in size from the centre until 'those at the ends were less than a foot above the ground 'into which they were all secured. Three stones, not 'fixed, were placed in front of the centre of the group; 'they occupied the same position, and were intended for 'the same purposes, as those in the circular temple just 'described. All the stones had been selected of an 'angular shape, with somewhat of an obelisk form in 'general appearance. The central group and double 'lines faced nearly east, and on that side were white-'washed. On the white, near, although not reaching 'quite to the apex of each stone, nor extending alto-'gether to the sides, was a large spot of red paint, two-'thirds of which from the centre were blacked over, 'leaving only a circular external belt of red. This 'gave, as I believe it was intended to do, a good repre-'sentation of a large spot of blood.'

In connection with these painted stones it is remarkable that in New Zealand red is a sacred colour, and 'the way of rendering anything tapu was by making it 'red. When a person died, his house was thus painted;

[1] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 464.

'when the tapu was laid on anything, the chief erected 'a post and painted it with the kura; wherever a corpse 'rested, some memorial was set up; oftentimes the 'nearest stone, rock, or tree served as a monument; 'but whatever object was selected, it was sure to be 'painted red. If the corpse was conveyed by water, 'wherever they landed a similar token was left; and 'when it reached its destination, the canoe was dragged 'on shore, painted red, and abandoned. When the 'hahunga took place, the scraped bones of the chief 'thus ornamented, and wrapped in a red-stained mat, 'were deposited in a box or bowl smeared with the 'sacred colour and placed in a painted tomb. Near 'his final resting-place a lofty and elaborately carved 'monument was erected to his memory; this was called 'the tiki, which was also thus coloured.'[1] Red was also a sacred colour in Congo.[2]

Colonel Dalton describes[3] a ceremony which curiously resembles the well-known scene in the life of Elijah, when he met the priests of Baal on the top of Carmel, showed his superior power, and recalled Israel to the old faith. The Sonthals of Central Hindostan worship a conspicuous hill called 'Marang Boroo.' In times of drought they go to the top of this sacred mountain, and offer their sacrifices on a large flat stone, playing on drums and beseeching their god for rain. 'They shake their heads violently, till they work them-'selves into a phrensy, and the movement becomes 'involuntary. They go on thus wildly gesticulating

[1] Taylor's New Zealand and the New Zealanders, p. 95.

[2] Merollo, Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 273.

[3] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vi. p. 35.

'till a "little cloud like a man's hand" is seen. Then 'they arise, take up their drums, and dance the kurrun 'on the rock, till Marang Boroo's response to their 'prayer is heard in the distant rumbling of thunder, 'and they go home rejoicing. They must go "fasting '"to the mount," and stay there till "there is a sound '"of abundance of rain," when they get them down 'to eat and drink. My informant tells me it always 'comes before evening.'

The Arabians down to the time of Mahomet, worshipped a black stone. 'The Beni Thekyf adored the 'rock called El Lat.'[1] The Phœnicians also worshipped a deity under the form of an unshapen stone.[2] The god Heliogabalus was merely a black stone of a conical form. Upright stones were worshipped by the Romans and the Greeks, under the name of Hermes, or Mercury. The Thespians had a rude stone, which they regarded as a deity, and the Bœotians worshipped Hercules under the same form.[3] The Laplanders also had sacred mountains and rocks.[4] Stone-worship indeed is said even now to linger in some of the Pyrenean valleys.

In Western Europe during the middle ages we meet with several denunciations of stone-worship, proving its strong hold on the people. Thus[5] 'the worship of 'stones was condemned by Theodoric, Archbishop of 'Canterbury, in the seventh century, and is among 'the acts of heathenism forbidden by King Edgar 'in the tenth, and by Cnut in the eleventh century. 'In a council held at Tours in A.D. 567, priests were

[1] Burckhardt's Tr. in Arabia, vol. i. p. 299.

[2] Kenrick's Phœnicia, p. 323.

[3] See De Brosses, *loc. cit.* p. 155.

[4] Dulaure, *loc. cit.* p. 50.

[5] Forbes Leslie, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 256.

'admonished to shut the doors of their churches against 'all persons worshipping upright stones, and Mahé 'states that a manuscript record of the proceedings of a 'council held at Nantes in the ninth century makes 'mention of the stone-worship of the Armoricans.'

'Les Français,' says Dulaure,[1] 'adorèrent des pierres 'plusieurs siècles après l'établissement du christianisme 'parmi eux. Diverses lois civiles et religieuses attestent 'l'existence de ce culte. Un capitulaire de Charle-'magne, et le concile de Leptine, de l'an 743, défendent 'les cérémonies superstitieuses qui se pratiquent auprès 'des pierres et auprès des Fans consacrés à Mercure et 'à Jupiter. Le concile de Nantes, cité par Réginon, 'fait la même défense. Il nous apprend que ces pierres 'étaient situées dans des lieux agrestes, et que le peuple, 'dupe des tromperies des démons, y apportait ses vœux 'et ses offrandes. Les conciles d'Arles, de Tours, le 'capitulaire d'Aix-la-Chapelle, de l'an 789, et plusieurs 'synodes, renouvellent ces prohibitions.'

In Ireland in the fifth century, King Laoghaive worshipped a stone pillar called the Crom-Cruach, which was overthrown by St. Patrick. Another stone at Clogher was worshipped by the Irish under the name of Kermand-Kelstach.[2] There was a sacred stone in Jura[3] round which the people used to move 'deasil,' *i.e.* sunwise. 'In some of the Hebrides[4] the people 'attributed oracular power to a large black stone.' In the island of Skye 'in every district there is to be met 'with a rude stone consecrated to Gruagach, or Apollo.

[1] Dulaure, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 304.
[2] Dr. Todd's St. Patrick, p. 127.
[3] Martin's Western Isles, p. 241.
[4] Forbes Leslie, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 257.

'The Rev. Mr. McQueen of Skye says that in almost 'every village the sun, called Grugach, or the Fair-'haired, is represented by a rude stone; and he further 'states that libations of milk were poured on the gruaich-'stones.' 'Finn Magnusen,' says Prof. Nilsson, 'relates 'that the peasants in certain mountain districts in Nor-'way, even as late as the close of the last century, used 'to preserve stones of a round form, and reverenced them 'in the same manner as their pagan ancestors used to 'worship their idols. They washed them every Thurs-'day evening, smeared them before the fire with butter, 'or some other grease, then dried them and laid them in 'the seat of honour upon fresh straw; at certain times 'of the year they were steeped in ale, and all this under 'the supposition that they would bring luck and com-'fort to the house.' [1]

Passing to Africa, Caillié observed near the negro village of N'pal a sacred stone, on which everyone as he passed threw a thread out of his 'pagne,' or breech-cloth, as a sort of offering. The natives firmly believe that when any danger threatens the village this stone leaves its place and 'moves thrice round it in the pre-'ceding night, by way of warning.' [2] Bruce observes that the pagan Abyssinians 'worship a tree, and likewise 'a stone.' [3]

The Tahitians believed in two principal gods; 'the 'Supreme Deity, one of these two first beings, they call 'Taroataihetoomoo, and the other, whom they sup-'pose to have been a rock, Tepapa.' [4] The volcanic

[1] Nilsson on the Stone Age, p. 241.

[2] Caillié, vol. i. p. 25.

[3] Bruce's Travels, vol. vi. p. 343.

[4] Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 238.

mountain Tongariro was 'held in traditional veneration 'by the New Zealanders.'[1] The Hervey Islanders also worshipped upright stones.[2]

In the Fiji[3] Islands 'rude consecrated stones, (fig. '20) are to be seen near Vuna, where offerings of food 'are sometimes made. Another stands on a reef near 'Naloa, to which the natives *tama*; and one near Tho-

Fig. 20

SACRED STONES. (Fiji Islands.)

'kova. Na Fiti Levu, named Lovekaveka, is regarded 'as the abode of a goddess, for whom food is provided. 'This, as seen in the engraving, is like a round black 'milestone, slightly inclined, and having a liku (girdle) 'tied round the middle. The shrine of O Rewau is a 'large stone, which, like the one near Naloa, hates mos-

[1] Dieffenbach's New Zealand, vol. i. p. 347.

[2] Gill, Myths of the South Pacific, p. 32.

[3] Williams' Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 220.

'quitoes, and keeps them from collecting near where he 'rules; he has also two large stones for his wives, one 'of whom came from Yandua, and the other from 'Yasawa. Although no one pretends to know the 'origin of Ndengei, it is said that his mother, in the 'form of two great stones, lies at the bottom of a moat. 'Stones are also used to denote the locality of some 'other gods, and the occasional resting-places of others. 'On the southern beaches of Vanua Levu a large stone 'is seen which has fallen upon a smaller one. These, 'it is said, represent the gods of two towns on that coast 'fighting, and their quarrel has for years been adopted 'by those towns.' On one of these sacred stones in the same neighbourhood are circular marks, closely resembling those on some of our European menhirs, &c.

In Micronesia, in the groups of Apamama and Tarawa, 'Tabueriki is worshipped under the form of a 'flat coral stone, of irregular shape, about three feet 'long by eighteen inches wide, set up on one end in the 'open air.'[1] The Tannese also venerate stones, and the principal deity of Tokalau was supposed to be embodied in a stone, which is carefully wrapped up in fine mats.[2] The Sumatrans also, as already mentioned (*ante*, p. 296), and the Torres Straits Islanders[3] had sacred stones.

Sproat mentions a mountain in Vancouver's Island which the natives are afraid to mention, fearing that if they did so it would cause them to be wrecked at sea.[4]

[1] Hale's Ethn. of the U. S. Ex. Exp., p. 97.

[2] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 88, 527.

[3] Gill, Life in the Southern Isles, p. 217.

[4] Scenes and Studies of Sav. Life, p. 265.

Prescott[1] says that a Dacotah Indian 'will pick up 'a round stone, of any kind, and paint it, and go a few 'rods from his lodge, and clear away the grass, say 'from one to two feet in diameter, and there place his 'stone, or god, as he would term it, and make an 'offering of some tobacco and some feathers, and pray 'to the stone to deliver him from some danger that he 'has probably dreamed of, or from imagination.' The Monitarris, also, before any great undertaking, were in the habit of making offerings to a sacred stone named Mih Choppenish.[2] In Florida a mountain called Olaimi was worshipped, and among the Natchez of Louisiana a conical stone.[3]

In South America the Peruvians kept 'stones in 'their houses, treating them as gods, and sacrificing 'human flesh and blood to them.'[4]

Fire-worship, again, is so widely distributed as to be almost universal. Since the introduction of lucifer matches we can hardly appreciate the difficulty which a savage has in obtaining a light, especially in damp weather. It is said, even, that some Australian tribes did not know how to do so, and that others, if their fire went out, would go many miles to borrow a spark from another tribe, rather than attempt to produce a new one for themselves. Hence in several very widely separated parts of the world we find it has been customary to tell off one or more persons, whose sole duty it should be to keep up a continual fire. Hence, no doubt, the

[1] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. ii. p. 229. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 321.

[2] Klemm, Culturgeschichte, vol. ii. p. 178.

[3] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 146.

[4] Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. ii. p. 138. See also vol. i. p. 47.

origin of the Vestal Virgins; and hence also the idea of the sacredness of fire would naturally arise.

According to Lafitau,[1] M. Huet, in a work which I have not been able to see, 'fait une longue énumération 'des peuples qui entretenoient ce feu sacré, et il cite 'partout ses autorités, de sorte qu'il paroît qu'il n'y 'avoit point de partie du monde connu, où ce culte ne 'fût universellement répandu. Dans l'Asie, outre les 'Juifs et les Chaldéens dont nous venons de parler, 'outre les peuples de Phrygie, de Lycie, et de l'Asie-'Mineure, il étoit encore chez les Perses, les Mèdes, les 'Scythes, les Sarmates, chez toutes les nations du Ponte 'et de la Cappadoce, chez toutes celles des Indes, où 'l'on se faisoit un devoir de se jeter dans les flammes, 'et de s'y consumer en holocauste, et chez toutes celles 'des deux Arabies, où chaque jour à certaines heures 'on faisoit un sacrifice au feu, dans lequel plusieurs 'personnes se dévouoient. Dans l'Afrique il étoit non 'seulement chez les Égyptiens, qui entretenoient ce feu 'immortel dans chaque temple, ainsi que l'assure 'Porphyre, mais encore dans l'Éthiopie, dans la Lybie, 'dans le temple de Jupiter Ammon, et chez les Atlan-'tiques, où Hiarbas, roy des Garamantes et des Gétules, 'avoit dressé cent autels, et consacré autant de feux, 'que Virgile appelle des feux vigilans et les gardes 'éternelles des dieux. Dans l'Europe le culte de Vesta 'étoit si bien établi que, sans parler de Rome et de 'l'Italie, il n'y avoit point de ville de la Grèce qui n'eût 'un temple, un prytanée, et un feu éternel, ainsi que le 'remarque Casaubon dans ses "Notes sur Athénée." 'Les temples célèbres d'Hercule dans les Espagnes et

[1] Lafitau, p. 153.

'dans les Gaules, celui de Vulcain au mont Ethna, de 'Vénus Érycine, avoient tous leurs pyrèthes ou feux 'sacrés. On peut citer de semblables témoignages des 'nations les plus reculées dans le nord, qui étoient 'toutes originaires des Scythes et des Sarmates. Enfin 'M. Huet prétend qu'il n'y a pas encore long temps que 'ce culte a été aboli dans l'Hybernie et dans la Moscovie, 'qu'il est encore aujourd'hui, non seulement chez les 'Gaures, mais encore chez les Tartares, les Chinois, et 'dans l'Amérique chez les Mexiquains. Il pouvoit 'encore en ajouter d'autres.'

Among the ancient Prussians a perpetual fire was kept up in honour of the god Potrimpos, and if it was allowed to go out, the priest in charge was burnt to death.[1]

The Ainos of Yesso 'have many gods ; but *fire*, not 'the sun, the moon, or the stars, is the principal one, and 'they are accustomed to pray to it, in general terms, for 'all they may need.'[2] 'Many Tunguz, Mongol, and 'Turk tribes,' says Tylor, 'sacrifice to fire, and some 'clans will not eat meat without first throwing a morsel 'upon the hearth.'[3]

The Natchez and Cherokees[4] had a temple in which they kept up a perpetual fire.[5] The Ojibwas[6] maintained 'a continued fire as a symbol of their nationality. 'They maintained, also, a civil polity, which, however, 'was much mixed up with their religious and medicinal

[1] Voigt, Gesch. Preussens, vol. i. p. 582. Schwenk, Die Mythol. der Slawen, p. 55.

[2] Bickmore, Trans. Ethn. Soc., vol. vii. p. 20.

[3] Tylor's Primitive Culture, vol. ii. p. 254.

[4] Prichard's Nat. Hist. of Man, 1855, vol. ii. p. 535.

[5] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 167.

[6] Warren in Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. ii. p. 138. See also Whipple's Report on Indian Tribes, p. 36.

'beliefs.' In Mexico also we find the same idea of sacred fire. Colonel McLeod has seen the sacred fire still kept burning in some of the valleys of South Mexico.[1] At the great festival of Xiuhmolpia, the priests and people went in procession to the mountain of Huixachtecatl; then an unfortunate victim was stretched on the 'stone of sacrifice,' and killed by a priest with a knife of obsidian; the dish made use of to kindle the new fire was then placed on the wound, and fire was obtained by friction.[2]

In Peru[3] 'the sacred flame was entrusted to the care 'of the Virgins of the Sun; and if, by any neglect, it 'was suffered to go out in the course of the year, the 'event was regarded as a calamity that boded some 'strange disaster to the monarchy.'

Fire is also regarded as sacred among the Damaras[4] and in Congo, and in Dahome Zo is the fire fetich. A pot is placed in a room and sacrifice is offered to it, that fire may 'live' there.[5]

No one can wonder that the worship of sun, moon, and stars is very widely distributed. It can, however, scarcely be regarded as of a higher character than the preceding forms of Totemism; it is unknown in Australia, and almost so in Polynesia.

In hot countries the sun is generally regarded as an evil, and in cold as a beneficent, being. It was the chief object of religious worship among the Natchez,[6]

[1] Jour. Ethn. Soc., 1869, p. 225. See also p. 246.

[2] Humboldt's Researches, London, 1824, vol. i. pp. 225, 382. See also Lafitau, vol. i. p. 170. Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. ii. p. 162.

[3] Prescott, vol. i. p. 99. Wuttke, Ges. der Mensch., vol. i. p. 276.

[4] Anderson's Lake Ngami, p. 223.

[5] Burton's Dahome, vol. ii. p. 148.

[6] Robertson's America, bk. iv. p. 126.

and was also worshipped by the Navajos, and other allied tribes in North America.[1] Among the Comanches of Texas 'the sun, moon, and earth are the principal 'objects of worship.'[2] Lafitau observes that the American Redskins did not worship the stars and planets, but only the sun.[3] In North-West America, however, the Ahts worship both the sun and moon, but especially the latter. They regard the sun as feminine and the moon as masculine, being, moreover, the husband of the sun.[4] The Kaniagmioutes consider them to be brother and sister.[5] It has been said that the Esquimaux of Greenland used to worship the sun. This, however, seems more than doubtful, and Crantz[6] expressly denies the statement.

The Peruvians worshipped the sun, making to it offerings of drink in a vessel of gold, and declaring that 'what appeared to be gone had been drunk by the sun, 'and they said truly, for the sun's heat had evaporated 'the liquor.'[7] We are told, however, that the Inca Huayna Capac questioned this, asking if it was likely that the sun, if a god, would go over the same course day after day. 'If he were supreme Lord he would 'occasionally go aside from his course, or rest for his 'pleasure, even though he might have no necessity whatever for doing so.'[8] The moon was held to be sister and wife of the sun. Garcilasso states that she had no

[1] Whipple's Report on Indian Tribes, p. 36. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 189. Tertre's History of the Caribby Islands, p. 236.

[2] Neighbors, in Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. ii. p. 127.

[3] *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 146.

[4] Sproat's Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 206.

[5] Pinart, Revue d'Anthropologie, 1873, p. 678.

[6] *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 196. See Graah's Voyage to Greenland, p. 124.

[7] Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. ii. pp. 60, 131; vol. i. p. 271.

[8] *Loc. cit.* p. 446. Molina, Fables and Rites of the Incas, p. 11.

separate temple, and that no sacrifices were offered to her.[1] They also worshipped several of the stars, which they regarded as attendants on the moon.[2]

In Brazil the Coroados worship the sun and moon, the moon being the more powerful.[3] The Abipones[4] thought that they were descended from the Pleiades; and 'as that constellation disappears at certain periods 'from the sky of South America, upon such occasions 'they suppose that their grandfather is sick, and are 'under a yearly apprehension that he is going to die; 'but as soon as those seven stars are again visible in 'the month of May, they welcome their grandfather, as 'if returned and restored from sickness, with joyful 'shouts, and the festive sound of pipes and trumpets, 'congratulating him on the recovery of his health.'

In Central India sun-worship prevails among many of the Hill tribes. 'The worship of the sun as the 'Supreme Deity is the foundation of the religion of the 'Hos and Oraons as well as of the Moondahs. By the 'former he is invoked as Dhurmi, the Holy One. He 'is the Creator and the Preserver; and, with reference 'to his purity, white animals are offered to him by his 'votaries.'[5] The sun and moon are both regarded as deities by the Korkus,[6] Khonds,[7] Tunguses,[8] and Buraets.[9] In Northern Asia the Samoyedes, the Mor-

[1] *Loc. cit.* vol. i. pp. 103, 275.

[2] *Loc. cit.* pp. 275, 183, 176.

[3] Spix and Martius, vol. ii. p. 243.

[4] Dobritzhoffer, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 65.

[5] Colonel Dalton, Trans. Ethn. Soc., vol. vi. p. 33.

[6] Forsyth's Highlands of Central India, p. 146.

[7] Forbes Leslie's Early Races of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 496. Campbell, Wild Tribes of Khondistan, p. 120.

[8] Bell's Travels from St. Petersburg, vol. i. p. 274.

[9] Klemm, Cult. d. Mensch. vol. iii. pp. 101, 109. Müller, Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Empire Russe, pt. iii. p. 25.

duans, the Tschuwasches and other tribes worshipped the sun and moon.

In Western Africa moon-worship is very prevalent. 'At the appearance of every new moon,' says Merolla.[1] 'these people fall on their knees, or else cry out, stand-'ing and clapping their hands, "So may I renew my '"life as thou art renewed."' They do not, however, appear to venerate either the sun or the stars. Bruce also mentions moon-worship as occurring among the Shangallas.[2] Further south the Bechuanas 'watch more 'eagerly for the first glimpse of the new moon, and 'when they perceive the faint outline after the sun has 'set deep in the west, they utter a loud shout of "Kua!" 'and vociferate prayers to it.'[3] Herodotus[4] mentions that the Atarantes used to curse the sun as he passed over their heads.

It is remarkable that the heavenly bodies do not appear to be worshipped by the Polynesians. The natives of Erromango, however, according to Mr. Brenchley, worship the moon, having stone images of the form of new and full moons.[5] According to Lord Kames, 'the inhabitants of Celebes formerly acknow-'ledged no gods but the sun and moon.'[6] The people of Borneo are said to have done the same.

The worship of ancestors is a natural development of the dread of ghosts, and is another widely distributed form of religious belief; which, however, I shall not

[1] Voyage to Congo, Pinkerton, vol. xv. p. 273.

[2] Travels, vol. iv. p. 35; vol. vi. p. 344.

[3] Livingstone's Journeys in South Africa, p. 235.

[4] Herodotus, iv. 184.

[5] Cruise of the 'Curaçoa,' p. 320.

[6] History of Man, vol. iv. p. 252.

enter into here, as it may be more conveniently considered when we come to deal with Idolatry.

These are the principal deities of man in this stage of his religious development. They are, however, as already mentioned, by no means the only ones.

The heavens and earth, thunder, lightning, and winds were regarded as deities in various parts of the world. The Scythians worshipped an iron scimetar as a symbol of the war-god; 'to this scimetar they bring 'yearly sacrifices of cattle and horses; and to these 'scimetars they offer more sacrifices than to the rest of 'their gods.'[1] In the Sagas many of the swords have special names, and are treated with the greatest respect. Similarly the Fijians regarded 'certain clubs with 'superstitious respect;'[2] and the negroes of Irawo, a town in Western Yoruba, worshipped an iron bar with very expensive ceremonies.[3] The New Zealanders, some of the Melanesians, and the Dahomans worshipped the rainbow.[4]

When Mr. Williams was murdered at Dillon's Bay, a piece of red sealing-wax which they found in his pocket 'was supposed by the natives to be some port-'able god, and was carefully buried.'[5]

In Central India, as mentioned in p. 290, a great variety of inanimate objects are treated as deities. The Todas are said to worship a buffalo-bell.[6] The Kotas worship two silver plates, which they regard as husband

[1] Herodotus, iv. 62. See also Klemm, Werkzeuge und Waffen, p. 225.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 219.

[3] Burton's Abbeokuta, vol. i. p. 192.

[4] Burton's Mission to Dahome, vol. ii. p. 148. Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1870, p. 367.

[5] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 487.

[6] The Tribes of the Neilgherries, p. 15.

and wife ; 'they have no other deity.'[1] The Kurumbas worship stones, trees, and anthills.[2] The Toreas, another Neilgherry Hill tribe, worship especially a 'gold 'nose-ring, which probably once belonged to one of their 'women.'[3] According to Nonnius, the sacred lyre sang the victory of Jupiter over the Titans, without being touched.[4] Many other inanimate objects have also been worshipped. De Brosses mentions an instance of a king of hearts being made into a deity,[5] and according to some of the earlier travellers in America, even the rattle was regarded as a deity.[6]

Thus, then, I have attempted to show that animals and plants, water, mountains, and stones, fire, the heavenly bodies, and a variety of other objects, are, or have been, all very extensively and often simultaneously worshipped, so that they do not form the basis of a natural classification of religions.

[1] The Tribes of the Neilgherries, p. 114.

[2] Trans. Ethn. Soc., vol. vii. p. 278.

[3] The Tribes of the Neilgherries, p. 67.

[4] Lafitau, vol. i. p. 205.

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 52.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 211.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION (*concluded*).

HAVING thus given my reasons for regarding as unsatisfactory the classifications of religions which have been adopted hitherto, I will now endeavour to trace up the gradual evolution of religious beliefs, beginning with the Australians, who possess merely certain vague ideas as to the existence of evil spirits, and a general dread of witchcraft. This belief cannot be said to influence them by day, but it renders them very unwilling to quit the camp-fire by night, or to sleep near a grave. They have no idea of creation, nor do they use prayers; they have no religious forms, ceremonies, or worship. They do not believe in the existence of a true Deity,[1] nor is morality in any way connected with their religion, if such it can be called. The words 'good' or 'bad' had reference to taste or bodily comfort and did not convey any idea of right or wrong.[2] Another curious notion of the Australians is, that white men are blacks who have risen from the dead. This idea was founded among the natives north of Sydney as early as 1795, and can scarcely, therefore, be of missionary origin.[3] It occurs also among the negroes of Guinea,

[1] Report of the Committee of the Legislative Council on Aborigines, Victoria, 1859, pp. 9, 69, 77.

[2] Eyre's Discoveries in Central Australia, vol. ii. pp. 354, 355, 356.

[3] Collins' English Colony in N.S. Wales, p. 303.

New Caledonia, and elsewhere.[1] The opinions of the Australians on such points, however, seem to have been very various and confused. They had certainly no general and definite view on the subject.

As regards the North Australians we have trustworthy accounts given by a Scotchwoman, Mrs. Thomson, who was wrecked on the Prince of Wales Island. Her husband and the rest of the crew were drowned, but she was saved by the natives, and lived with them nearly five years until the visit of the 'Rattlesnake,' when she escaped with some difficulty. On the whole she was kindly treated by the men, though the women were long jealous of her, and behaved towards her with much cruelty. These people had no idea of a Supreme Being.[2] They did not believe in the immortality of the soul, but held that they are 'after death changed into white people or 'Europeans, and as such pass the second and final 'period of their existence; nor is it any part of their 'creed that future rewards and punishments are 'awarded.'[3]

Mrs. Thomson was supposed to be the ghost of Giom, a daughter of a man named Piaquai, and when she was teased by children, the men would often tell them to leave her alone, saying, 'Poor thing! she is 'nothing—only a ghost.' This, however, did not prevent a man named Boroto making her his wife, which shows how little is actually implied in the statement that Australians believe in spirits. They really do

[1] Smith's Guinea, p. 215. Bosman, Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 401.

[2] Macgillivray's Voyage of the 'Rattlesnake,' vol. ii. p. 29.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 29.

no more than believe in the existence of men somewhat different from, and a little more powerful than, themselves. The South Australians, as described by Stephens, had no religious rites, ceremonies, or worship; no idea of a Supreme Being, but a vague dread of evil spirits.[1]

The Veddahs of Ceylon, according to Davy, believe in evil beings, but 'have no idea of a supreme and 'beneficent God, or of a state of future existence, or of 'a system of rewards and punishments; and, in conse-'quence, they are of opinion that it signifies little 'whether they do good or evil.'[2]

The Indians of California have been well described by Father Baegert, a Jesuit missionary, who lived among them no less than seventeen years.[3] As to government or religion, he says,[4] 'neither the one nor 'the other existed among them. They had no magis-'trates, no police, and no laws; idols, temples, religious 'worship, or ceremonies were unknown to them, and 'they neither believed in the true and only God nor 'adored false deities.

'I made diligent inquiries among those with whom 'I lived, to ascertain whether they had any conception 'of God, a future life, and their own souls, but I never 'could discover the slightest trace of such a knowledge. 'Their language has no words for "God" and "soul," 'for which reason the missionaries were compelled to 'use in their sermons and religious instructions the 'Spanish words *Dios* and *alma*. It could hardly be

[1] Stephens' South Australia, p. 78.

[2] Davy's Ceylon, p. 118.

[3] Nachrichten von der Amer. Halb. Californie, 1773. Translated in Smithsonian Reports, 1863–4.

[4] Smithsonian Reports, 1864, p. 390.

'otherwise with people who thought of nothing but 'eating and merry-making, and never reflected on 'serious matters, but dismissed everything that lay be- 'yond the narrow compass of their conceptions with the 'phrase aipekériri, which means, "Who knows that?" 'I often asked them whether they had never put to 'themselves the question who might be the Creator 'and Preserver of the sun, moon, stars, and other ob- 'jects of nature, but was always sent home with a vára, 'which means "no" in their language.'

Mr. Gibbs, speaking of the Indians living in the valleys drained by the Sacramento and the San Joaquin, says: 'One of this tribe, who had been for three or four 'years among the whites, and accompanied the expedi- 'tion, on being questioned as to his own belief in a 'Deity, acknowledged his entire ignorance on the sub- 'ject. As regarded a future state of any kind, he was 'equally uninformed and indifferent; in fact, did not 'believe in any for himself. As a reason why his 'people did not go to another country after death, 'while the whites might, he assigned that the Indians 'burned their dead, and he supposed there was an end 'of them.'[1]

The religion of the Bachapins, a Kaffir tribe, has been described by Burchell. They had no outward worship, nor, so far as he could learn, any private devotion; indeed, they had no belief in a beneficent Deity, though they feared an evil being called 'Mu- 'leemo,' or 'Murimo.' They had no idea of creation. Even when Burchell suggested it to them, they did not attribute it to Muleemo, but 'asserted that everything

[1] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. iii. p. 107.

'made itself, and that trees and herbage grew by their 'own will.'[1] They believed in sorcery, and in the efficacy of amulets.

Dr. Vanderkemp, the first missionary to the Kaffirs, 'never could perceive that they had any religion, or any 'idea of the existence of God.' Mr. Moffatt also, who lived in South Africa as a missionary for many years, says that they were utterly destitute of theological ideas; and Dr. Gardner, in his 'Faiths of the World,' concludes as follows:[2] 'From all that can be ascertained 'on the religion of the Kaffirs, it seems that those of 'them who are still in their heathen state have no idea '(1) of a Supreme Intelligent Ruler of the universe; '(2) of a sabbath; (3) of a day of judgment; (4) of 'the guilt and pollution of sin; (5) of a Saviour to 'deliver them from the wrath to come.'

The Rev. Canon Callaway has recently published a very interesting memoir on 'The Religious System of 'the Amazulu,' who are somewhat more advanced in their religious conceptions. The first portion is entitled 'Unkulunkulu, or the Tradition of Creation.' It does not, however, appear that Unkulunkulu is regarded as a Creator, or even as a Deity at all. He is simply the first man, the Zulu Adam. Some complication arises from the fact that not only the ancestor of all mankind, but also the first of each tribe, is called Unkulunkulu, so that there are many Onkulunkulu, or Unkulunkulus. None of them, however, have any of the characters of Deity; no prayers or sacrifices are offered to them;[3] indeed, they no longer exist, having been long dead.[4]

[1] Travels, vol. ii. p. 550.
[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 260.
[3] *Loc. cit.* pp. 9, 25, 34, 75.
[4] *Loc. cit.* pp. 15, 33, 62.

Unkulunkulu was in no sense a Creator,[1] nor, indeed, is any special power attributed to him.[2] He, *i.e.* man, arose from 'Uthlanga,' that is 'a bed of reeds,' but how he did so no one knew.[3] Mr. Callaway agrees with Casalis, that 'it never entered the heads of the 'Zulus that the earth and sky might be the work of an 'invisible being.'[4] One native thought the white men made the world.[5] They had, indeed, no idea of or name for God.[6] When Moffatt endeavoured to explain to a chief about God he exclaimed, 'Would that I could 'catch it! I would transfix it with my spear;' yet this was a man 'whose judgment on other subjects would 'command attention.'[7]

Yet they are not without a belief in invisible beings. This is founded partly on the shadow, but principally on the dream. They regard the shadow as in some way the spirit which accompanies the body (reminding us of the similar idea among the Greeks), and they have a curious notion that a dead body casts no shadow.[8]

Still more important has been the influence of dreams. When a dead father or brother appears to a man in his sleep he does not doubt the reality of the occurrence, and hence concludes that their spirits still live. As, however, they rarely dream about their grandfathers, they suppose them to be dead.[9]

Diseases are regarded as being often caused by the spirits of discontented relatives.

In Samoa it was supposed that the spirits of the

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 137.
[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 48.
[3] *Loc. cit.* pp. 9, 40.
[4] *Loc. cit.* pp. 54, 108.
[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 55.
[6] *Loc. cit.* pp. 107, 113, 136.
[7] *Loc. cit.* p. 111.
[8] *Loc. cit.* p. 91.
[9] *Loc. cit.* p. 15.

departed 'had power to return and cause disease and 'death in other members of the family. Hence, all 'were anxious as a person drew near the close of life to 'part on good terms with him, feeling assured that, 'if he died with angry feelings towards any one, he 'would certainly return, and bring some calamity upon 'that very person or some one closely allied to him.'[1]

A case is on record in which a Brahman put his mother to death, not only with the old woman's consent, but at her own request, in order that her spirit might punish a neighbour who had offended her.

In other respects these spirits are not regarded as possessing any special powers; though prayed to, it is not in such a manner as to indicate a belief that they have any supernatural influence, and they are clearly not regarded as immortal. In some cases departed spirits are regarded as reappearing in the form of snakes,[2] which may be known from ordinary snakes by certain signs,[3] such as their frequenting huts, not eating mice, and showing no fear of man. Sometimes a snake is recognised as the representative of a given man by some peculiar mark or scar, the absence of an eye, or some other similar point of resemblance.

In such cases sacrifices are sometimes offered to the snake, and, when a bullock is killed, part is put away for the use of the dead, or Amatongo, who are specially invited to the feast, whose assistance is requested, and wrath deprecated. Yet this can hardly be called 'ancestor-worship.' The dead have, it is true, the advantage of invisibility, but they are not regarded as

[1] Turner's Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 236.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 8.

[3] *Loc. cit.* pp. 198, 199.

omnipresent, omnipotent, or immortal. There are even means by which troublesome spirits may be destroyed or 'laid.'[1] In such cases as these, then, we see religion in a very low phase; that in which it consists merely of belief in the existence of evil beings, less material than we are, but mortal like ourselves, and if more powerful than man in some respects, even less so in others.

FETICHISM.

In the Fetichism of the negro, Religion, if it can be so called, is systematised, and greatly raised in importance. Nevertheless from another point of view Fetichism may almost be regarded as an anti-religion. It has hitherto been defined as the worship of material substances. This does not seem to me to be its true characteristic. Fetichism is not truly a form of 'wor-'ship' at all. For the negro believes that by means of the fetich he can coerce and control his deity. In fact, Fetichism is mere witchcraft. We have already seen (*ante*, p. 250) that magicians all over the world think that if they can obtain a part of an enemy the possession of it gives them a power over him. Even a bit of his clothing will answer the purpose, or, if this cannot be got, it seems to them natural that an injury even to his image would affect the original. That is to say, a man who can destroy or torture the image thus inflicts pain on the original, and this, being magical, is independent of the power of that original. Even in Europe, and in the eleventh century, some unfortunate Jews were accused of having murdered a certain Bishop Eberhard

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 160.

in this way. They made a wax image of him, had it baptized, and then burnt it, and so the bishop died.

Lord Kames says that at the time of Catherine de Medicis 'it was common to take the resemblance of 'enemies in wax, in order to torment them by roasting 'the figure at a slow fire, and pricking it with needles.'[1]

In India, says Dubois,[2] 'a quantity of mud is 'moulded into small figures, on the breasts of which 'they write the name of the persons whom they mean 'to annoy. . . . They pierce the images with thorns or 'mutilate them, so as to communicate a corresponding 'injury to the person represented.'

Now, it seems to me that Fetichism is an extension of this belief. The negro supposes that the possession of a fetich representing a spirit makes that spirit his servant. We know that the negroes beat their fetich if their prayers are unanswered, and I believe they seriously think they thus inflict suffering on the actual deity. Thus the fetich cannot fairly be called an idol. The same image or object may indeed be a fetich to one man and an idol to another; yet the two are essentially different in their nature. An idol is indeed an object of worship, while, on the contrary, a fetich is intended to bring the deity within the control of man—an attempt which is less absurd than it at first sight appears, when considered in connection with their low religious ideas. If, then, witchcraft be not confused with religion, as I think it ought not to be, Fetichism can hardly be called a religion; to the true spirit of which it is indeed entirely opposed.

[1] Lord Kames' History of Man, vol. iv. p. 261.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 347.

Anything will do for a fetich ; it need not represent the human figure, though it may do so. Even an ear of maize will answer the purpose. 'If,' said an intelligent negro to Bosman,[1] 'any of us is resolved to undertake 'anything of importance, we first of all search out a god 'to prosper our designed undertaking ; and, going out 'of doors with this design, take the first creature that 'presents itself to our eyes, whether dog, cat, or the 'most contemptible animal in the world, for our god ; 'or, perhaps, instead of that, any inanimate object that 'falls in our way, whether a stone, or piece of wood, or 'anything else of the same nature. This new-chosen 'god is immediately presented with an offering, which 'is accompanied with a solemn vow, that if he pleaseth 'to prosper our undertakings for the future we will 'always worship and esteem him as a god. If our de-'sign prove successful, we have discovered a new and 'assisting god, which is daily presented with fresh 'offerings ; but if the contrary happen, the new god is 'rejected as a useless tool, and consequently returns to 'his primitive estate. We make and break our gods 'daily, and consequently are the masters and inventors 'of what we sacrifice to.'

The term Fetichism is generally connected with the negro race, but a corresponding state of mind exists in many other parts of the world. In fact, it may almost be said to be universal, since it is nothing more nor less than witchcraft ; and in the most advanced countries—even in our own—the belief in witchcraft has scarcely been entirely eradicated.

[1] Bosman's Guinea, Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 493. See also Loyer (1701), Astley's Collection, vol. ii. p. 440.

The Badagas (Hindostan), according to Metz, are still in a 'condition little above Fetichism. Anything 'with them may become an object of adoration, if the 'head man or the village priest should take a fancy to 'deify it. As a necessary consequence, however, of this 'state of things, no real respect is entertained towards 'their deities, and it is not an uncommon thing to hear 'the people call them liars, and use opprobrious epithets 'respecting them.'[1] Again, speaking of the Chota Nagpore tribes of Central India, Colonel Dalton observes that certain 'peculiarities in the paganism of the Oraon, 'and only practised by Moondahs who lived in the same 'village with them, appear to me to savour thoroughly 'of Fetichism.'[2]

In Jeypore[3] the body of a small musk-rat is regarded as a powerful talisman. 'The body of this 'animal, dried, is enclosed in a case of brass, silver, or 'gold, according to the means of the individual, and is 'slung around the neck, or tied to the arm, to render 'the individual proof against all evil, not excepting 'sword and other cuts, musket-shot, &c.' The Abors of Bengal worship trees, and if misfortunes occur, 'they 'retaliate on the spirits by cutting down trees.'[4]

In all these cases the tribes seem to me to be naturally in the state of Fetichism, disguised, however, and modified by fragments of the higher Hindoo religions, which they have adopted without understanding.

The Ostyaks have fetiches to which they offer prayers

[1] The Tribes of the Neilgherries, p. 60.

[2] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vi. p. 33.

[3] Shortt, Trans. Ethn. Soc., vol. vi. p. 278.

[4] Dalton, Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 25.

and sacrifices. But if these are ineffectual they abuse, beat, and even mutilate them.[1]

Though the Redskins of North America have reached a higher state of religious development, they still retain fetiches in the form of 'medicine-bags.' 'Every Indian,' says Catlin,[2] 'in his primitive state, carries his medicine-'bag in some form or other,' and to it he looks for protection and safety. 'The nature of the medicine-bag is 'thus determined: At fourteen or fifteen years of age 'the boy wanders away alone upon the prairie, where he 'remains two, three, four, or even five days, lying on the 'ground musing and fasting. He remains awake as long 'as he can, but when he sleeps the first animal of which 'he dreams becomes his "medicine." As soon as possible 'he shoots an animal of the species in question, and 'makes a medicine-bag of the skin. To this he looks for 'protection, to this he sacrifices; unlike the fickle negro, 'however, the Redskin never changes his fetich. To him it 'becomes an emblem of success, like the shield of the Greek, 'or the more modern sword, and to lose it is disgrace.'

The Columbian Indians have small figures in the form of a quadruped, bird, or fish. These, though called idols, are rather fetiches, because, as all disease is attributed to them, when anyone is ill they are beaten together, and the first which loses a tooth or claw is supposed to be the culprit.[3]

In China,[4] also, the lower people, 'if, after long 'praying to their images, they do not obtain what they 'desire, as it often happens, they turn them off as im-

[1] Hist. des. Découvertes dans plus. contr. de la Russie, vol. iii. p. 147.

[2] American Indians, vol. i. p. 36.

[3] Dunn's Oregon, p. 125.

[4] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iv. p. 218.

'potent gods; others use them in a most reproachful 'manner, loading them with hard names, and sometimes 'with blows. "How now, dog of a spirit!" say they 'to them; "we give you a lodging in a magnificent '"temple, we gild you handsomely, feed you well, and '"offer incense to you; yet, after all this care, you are '"so ungrateful as to refuse us what we ask of you." 'Hereupon they tie this image with cords, pluck him 'down, and drag him along the streets, through all the 'mud and dunghills, to punish him for the expense of 'perfume which they have thrown away upon him. If 'in the meantime it happens that they obtain their re-'quest, then, with a great deal of ceremony, they wash 'him clean, carry him back, and place him in his niche 'again; where they fall down to him, and make ex-'cuses for what they have done. "In a truth," say 'they, "we were a little too hasty, as well as you were '"somewhat too long in your grant. Why should you '"bring this beating on yourself? But what is done '"cannot be now undone; let us not therefore think of '"it any more. If you will forget what is past, we will '"gild you over again."'

Pallas, speaking of the Ostyaks, states that, 'Malgré 'la vénération et le respect qu'ils ont pour leurs idoles, 'malheur à elles lorsqu'il arrive un malheur à l'Ostyak, 'et que l'idole n'y remédie pas. Il la jette alors par 'terre, la frappe, la maltraite, et la brise en morceaux. 'Cette correction arrive fréquemment. Cette colère est commune à tous les peuples idolâtres de la Sibérie.'[1] Müller also[2] makes very similar statements. Dr.

[1] Pallas' Voyages, vol. iv. p. 79.

[2] Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Emp. Russe, pt. iii. p. 151.

Gerland, in the continuation of Waitz's 'Anthropologie,' mentions several cases of Fetichism in Polynesia.[1]

In Madagascar a small basket was in every house hung against the northern roof-post, and in it was placed the fetich, which was sometimes a stone, sometimes a leaf, a flower or a piece of wood. This 'is the 'household "sampy," or charm, which is trusted in and 'prayed to as a protection from evil.'[2]

In Whydah (Western Africa), and I believe generally, the negroes will not eat the animal or plant which they have chosen for their fetich.[3] In Issini, on the contrary, 'eating the fetich' is a solemn ceremony on taking an oath, or as a token of friendship.[4]

Fetichism, strictly speaking, has no temples, idols, priests, sacrifices, or prayer. It involves no belief in creation or in a future life, and *à fortiori* none in a state of rewards and punishments. It is entirely independent of morality. In most, however, of the powerful negro monarchies, religion has made some progress in organisation; but though we find both sacred buildings and priests, the religion itself shows little, if any, intellectual improvement.

TOTEMISM.

The next stage in religious progress is that which may be called Totemism. The savage does not abandon his belief in Fetichism, from which, indeed, no race of men has yet entirely freed itself; but he superinduces

[1] *Loc. cit.* vol. vi. pp. 322, 341.

[2] Sibree's Madagascar and its People, p. 204.

[3] Phillips, 1693. Astley, vol. ii. p. 411.

[4] Loyer, 1701, *loc. cit.* p. 436.

on it a belief in beings of a higher and less material nature. In this stage everything may be worshipped —trees, stones, rivers, mountains, the heavenly bodies, and animals ; but the higher deities are no longer regarded as liable to be controlled by witchcraft. Still they are not regarded as Creators ; they do not reward virtue, or punish vice. The spirits of the departed have before them a weary and dangerous journey, and many perish by the way ; heaven, however, seems to be merely a distant part of the earth.

Even the deities still inhabit this earth ; they are part of nature, not supernatural ; in fact, we may say that in Fetichism the deities are non-human, in Totemism superhuman, but do not become supernatural until a still further stage of mental development.

Again, Totemism is a deification of classes ; the fetich is an individual. The negro who has, let us say, an ear of maize as a fetich, values that particular ear, more or less as the case may be, but has no feeling for maize as a species. On the contrary, the Redskin who regards the bear, or the wolf, as his totem, feels that he is in intimate, though mysterious, association with the whole species.

The name 'Totemism' is of North American origin, and is primarily used to denote the form of religion widely prevalent among the Redskins of that continent, but similar religious views are held in various other parts of the world.

In order to realise clearly the essential characteristics of the religions of different races, we must bear in mind that at the stage at which we have now arrived in the course of our enquiry, the modifications of which a

religion is susceptible may be divided into two classes, viz. developmental and adaptational, or adaptive. I use the term 'developmental' to signify those changes which arise from the intellectual progress of the race. Thus a more elevated idea of the Deity is a developmental change. On the other hand, a Northern people is apt to look on the sun as a beneficent deity, while to a tropical race it would suggest drought and destruction. Again, hunters tend to worship the moon, agriculturists the sun. These I call adaptational modifications. They are changes produced, not by difference of race or of civilisation, but by physical causes.

In some cases the character of the language has probably exercised much influence over that of religion. No one, for instance, can fail to be struck by the differences existing between the Aryan and Semitic religions. All Aryan races have a complicated mythology, which is not the case with Semitic races. Moreover, the character of the gods is quite different. The latter have El, Strong, Bel or Baal, Lord; Adonis, Lord; Shet, Master; Moloch, King; Ram and Rimmon, the Exalted; and other similar names for their deities. The Aryans, on the contrary, Zeus, the sky; Phœbus Apollo, the sun; Neptune, the sea; Mars, war; Venus, beauty, &c. Max Müller[1] has very ingeniously endeavoured to explain this difference by the different character of the language in these two races.

As a general rule nations in whose languages the division of the nouns into classes has no reference to the distinctions of sex, possess no mythology; and though there are some apparent exceptions, it is probable, as

[1] See Müller's Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. p. 363.

Dr. Bleek has suggested,[1] that in such cases the 'lan-'guages, if not at the present day sex-denoting, may 'formerly have been so,' and that thus the presence of inherited mythological ideas in a nation may give evidence of a former state of its language, a state of which all other evidence may have now disappeared.

Among the Finns, 'Youmala,' the sky, was first personified, and then at a later period the word came to mean any God.

Again, in Semitic words the root remains always distinct and unmistakable. In Aryan, on the contrary, it soon becomes altered and disguised. Hence Semitic dictionaries are mostly arranged according to the roots, a method which in Aryan languages would be most inconvenient, the root being often obscure, and in many cases doubtful. Now, take such an expression as 'the 'sky thunders.' In any Semitic tongue the word 'sky' would remain unaltered, and so clear in its meaning that it would with difficulty come to be thought of as a proper name. But among the Aryans the case was different, and we find in the earlier Vedic poetry that the names of the Greek gods stand as mere words denoting natural objects. Thus the Sanskrit Dyaus, the sky, became the Greek Zeus, and when the Greek said *Ζεὺς βροντᾷ* his idea was not 'the sky thunders,' but 'Zeus thunders.' When the gods were thus once created, the mythology follows as a matter of course. Some of the statements may be obscure, but when we are told that Hupnos, the god of sleep, was the father of Morpheus, the god of dreams; or that Venus,

[1] On Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology, Cape Monthly Magazine, February, 1874.

married to Vulcan, lost her heart to Mars, and that the intrigue was made known to Vulcan by Apollo, the sun, we can clearly see how such myths might have arisen.

The attitude of the ancients towards them is very interesting. Homer and Hesiod relate them, apparently without suspicion, and we may be sure that the uneducated public received them without a doubt. Socrates, however, explains the story that Boreas carried off Oreithyia from the Ilissos, to mean that Oreithyia was blown off the rocks by the north wind. Ovid also says that under the name of Vesta, mere fire is to be understood. We can hardly doubt that many others also must have clearly perceived the origin of at any rate a portion of these myths, but they were probably restrained from expressing their opinion by the dread of incurring the odium of heterodoxy.

One great charm of this explanation is that we thus remove some of the revolting features of ancient myths. Thus, as the sun destroys the darkness from which it springs, and at evening disappears in the twilight, so Œdipus was fabled to have killed his father, and then married his mother. In this way the whole of that terrible story may be explained as arising, not from the depravity of the human heart, but from a mistaken application of the statement that the sun destroys the darkness, and ultimately marries, as it were, the twilight from which it sprang.

But although poetry may thus throw much light on the origin of the myths which formed the religion of Greece and Rome, it cannot explain the origin or character of religion among the lower savages, because a

mythology such as that of Greece and Rome can only arise amongst a people which have already made considerable progress. True, myths do not occur among the lowest races. Even in Madagascar, according to a good authority,[1] 'there is nothing corresponding to a 'mythology, or any fables of gods or goddesses, amongst 'the Malagasy.' Tempting, therefore, as it may be to seek in the nature of language and the use of poetical expressions an explanation of the religious systems of the lower races, and fully admitting the influence which these causes have exercised, we must look deeper for the origin of religion, and can be satisfied only by an explanation which is applicable to the lowest races possessing any religious opinions. In the preceding chapters I have attempted to do this, and to show how certain phenomena, as for instance sleep and dreams, pain, disease, and death, have naturally created in the savage mind a belief in the existence of mysterious and invisible beings.

SHAMANISM.

As Totemism overlies Fetichism, so does Shamanism overlie Totemism. The word is derived from the name used in Siberia, where the 'Shamans' work themselves up into a fury, supposing or pretending that in this condition they are inspired by the Spirit in whose name they speak, and through whose inspiration they are enabled to answer questions as well as to foretell the future. In the phases of religion hitherto considered, the deities (if indeed they deserve the name) are regarded as

[1] Sibree's Madagascar and its People, p. 396.

visible to all, and present amongst us. Shamanism is a considerable advance, inasmuch as it presents us with a higher conception of religion. Although the name is Siberian, the phase of thought is widely distributed, and seems to be a necessary stage in the progress of religious development. Those who are disposed to adopt the view advocated in this work will not be surprised to find that 'Shamanism' is no definite system of theology. Wrangel, however, regarding Shamanism as a religion in the ordinary sense, was astonished at this. 'It is 'remarkable,' he says, 'that Shamanism has no dogmas 'of any kind; it is not a system taught or handed down 'from one to another; though it is so widely spread, it 'seems to originate with each individual separately, as 'the fruit of a highly excited imagination, acted upon 'by external impressions, which closely resemble each 'other, throughout the deserts of Northern Siberia.'[1]

It is far from always easy in practice to distinguish Shamanism from Totemism on the one hand, and Idolatry on the other. The main difference lies in the conception of the Deity. In Totemism the deities inhabit our earth; in Shamanism they live generally in a world of their own, and trouble themselves little about what is passing here. The Shaman, however, is occasionally honoured by the presence of Deity, or is allowed to visit the heavenly regions.

Among the Esquimaux the 'Angekok' answers precisely to the Shaman. Graah thus describes a scene in Greenland. The angekok came in the evening, and, 'the lamps[2] being extinguished, and skins hung before

[1] Siberia and Polar Sea, p. 123.

[2] Graah's Voyage to Greenland, p. 123. See also Egede's Greenland, p. 183, and Lyon's Journ., p. 359.

'the windows (for such arts, for evident reasons, are 'best practised in the dark), took his station on the 'floor, close by a well-dried seal-skin there suspended, 'and commenced rattling it, beating the tambourine and 'singing, in which last he was seconded by all present. 'From time to time his chant was interrupted by a cry 'of "Goie, Goie, Goie, Goie, Goie, Goie!" the meaning 'of which I did not comprehend, coming first from one 'corner of the hut, and then from the other. Presently 'all was quiet, nothing being heard but the angekok 'puffing and blowing as if struggling with something 'superior to him in strength, and then again a sound 'resembling somewhat that of castanets, whereupon 'commenced once more the same song as before, and 'the same cry of "Goie, Goie, Goie!" In this way a 'whole hour elapsed before the wizard could make the 'torngak, or spirit, obey his summons. Come he did, 'however, at last, and his approach was announced 'by a strange rushing sound, very like the sound of 'a large bird flying beneath the roof. The angekok, 'still chanting, now proposed his questions, which 'were replied to in a voice quite strange to my ears, 'but which seemed to me to proceed from the en- 'trance passage near which the angekok had taken his 'station.'

The account given by Cranz agrees with the above in all essential particulars.[1]

Williams[2] gives the following very similar account of a scene in Fiji :—'Unbroken silence follows ; the 'priest becomes absorbed in thought, and all eyes watch

[1] History of Greenland, vol. i. p. 210.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 224.

'him with unblinking steadiness. In a few minutes he 'trembles; slight distortions are seen in his face, and 'twitching movements in his limbs. These increase to 'a violent muscular action, which spreads until the 'whole frame is strongly convulsed, and the man shivers 'as with a strong ague fit. In some instances this is 'accompanied with murmurs and sobs, the veins are 'greatly enlarged, and the circulation of the blood 'quickened. The priest is now possessed by his god, 'and all his words and actions are considered as no 'longer his own, but those of the deity who has entered 'into him. Shrill cries of "Koi au, Koi au!" "It is I, '"It is I!" fill the air, and the god is supposed thus 'to notify his approach. While giving the answer the 'priest's eyes stand out and roll as in a frenzy; his 'voice is unnatural, his face pale, his lips livid, his 'breathing depressed, and his entire appearance like that 'of a furious madman: the sweat runs from every pore, 'and tears start from his strained eyes; after which the 'symptoms gradually disappear. The priest looks round 'with a vacant stare, and as the god says, "I depart," 'announces his actual departure by violently flinging 'himself down on the mat, or by suddenly striking the 'ground with his club. The convulsive movements do 'not entirely disappear for some time.' The process described by Dobritzhoffer[1] as occurring among the Abipones is also somewhat similar.

Among the negroes of W. Africa, Brue[2] mentions a 'prophet' who pretended 'to be inspired by the Deity 'in such a manner as to know the most hidden secrets,

[1] History of the Abipones, vol. ii. p. 73.

[2] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 83.

'and go invisible wherever he pleased as well as to 'make his voice be heard at the greatest distance. His 'disciples and accomplices attested the truth of what 'he said by a thousand fabulous relations; so that the 'common people, alway credulous and fond of novelty, 'readily give in to the cheat.' Burton mentions the same thing in Dahome.[1]

Colonel Dalton states that 'the paganism of the 'Ho and Moondah in all essential features is Shaman-'istic.'[2] So also among the Karens the prophet 'throws himself into a state of clairvoyance. He 'writhes his body and limbs, rolls himself on the 'ground, and often foams at the mouth in the violence 'of his paroxysms. When he is satisfied with his 'condition, he becomes calm, and makes his prophetic 'announcement.'[3]

To quote one more case from a very different part of the world and yet exactly similar, Schweinfurth tells us that 'the wife of the Dinka had been long 'suffering under some chronic disorder, and he had 'undertaken a long day's journey to fetch a very cele-'brated conjuror or "cogyoor" to treat her case. The 'incantation began in a strain which would try the very 'stoutest of nerves; the strength of the wizard's lungs 'was astounding, and could have won a wager against a 'steam trumpet. The virtue of the proceeding, however, 'centered upon this, and ventriloquism was called in to 'assist in producing a dialogue between himself and the 'devil which possessed the patient. I say the "devil"

[1] Mission to Dahome, vol. ii. p. 158.

[2] Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1868, p. 32.

[3] The Karens of the Golden Chersonese, p. 157.

'because the biblical expression has accustomed us to the 'phrase, but I disapprove of the translation, and would 'rather say the "demon."

'In the most penetrating tone, something like the 'cackling of frightened hens, only a thousand times 'louder, the sorcerer began the enchantment, which 'consisted of several acts.

'The first act lasted two hours without intermission, 'and unless it were heard it could never be imagined. 'I was assured that this introduction was quite indis-'pensable—as a means of intimidating the devil and com-'pelling him to reply, it could not by any means be 'omitted from the execution of the charm. The dialogue 'which followed between the wizard and the devil was 'carried on by the artifice of ventriloquism. The wizard 'made all kinds of inquiries as to the devil's name, the 'period of his possession of the woman, his proceedings, 'and his whereabouts, and then went on to ask about 'his lineage, his kinsfolk and acquaintances. When for 'an hour or more the wizard had interrogated him, till he 'had got all the answers he wanted, he set to work to 'provide the real remedy.'[1]

IDOLATRY.

The worship of idols characterises a somewhat higher stage of human development. We find no traces of it among the lowest races of men; and Lafitau[2] says

[1] Schweinfurth, Heart of Africa, p. 331.

[2] Mœurs des Sauvages Américains, vol. i. p. 151.

truly, 'On peut dire en général que le grand nombre 'des peuples sauvages n'a point d'idoles.' The error of regarding Idolatry as the general religion of low races has no doubt mainly arisen from confusing the Idol and the Fetich. Fetichism, however, is an attack on the Deity, Idolatry is an act of submission to him ; rude no doubt, but yet humble. Hence, Fetichism and Idolatry are not only different, but opposite, so that the one could not be developed directly out of the other. We must therefore expect to find between them, as indeed we do, a stage of religion without either the one or the other.

Captain Lyon states that the Esquimaux have no idols.[1] 'Neither among the Esquimaux nor the Tinne,' says Richardson, 'did I observe any image or visible 'object of worship.'[2]

Carver mentions that the Canadian Indians had no idols ;[3] and this seems to have been true of the North American Indians generally. Lafitau mentions as an exception the existence of an idol named Oki in Virginia.[4]

In Eastern Africa Burton states that he knows 'but 'one people, the Wanyika, who have certain statuettes 'called Kisukas.' Prichard, however, quotes a communication from Dr. Kraff, in which it is stated that 'the Wanika are pagans, though they have no 'images.'[5] Neither the Kaffirs nor the Bechuanas have idols.[6]

[1] Journal, p. 372.
[2] Boat Journey, vol. ii. p. 44.
[3] Travels, p. 387.
[4] Vol. i. p. 168.
[5] Prichard's Nat. Hist. of Man, vol. ii. p. 398.
[6] Livingstone's Travels in South Africa, p. 158. Maclean's Comp. of Kaffir Laws and Customs, p. 78.

Nor do the West African negroes worship idols.[1] It is true that some writers mention idols, but the context almost always shows that fetiches are really meant. In the kingdom of Whydah 'Agoye' was represented under the form of a deformed black man, from whose head proceed lizards and snakes,[2] offering a striking similarity to some of the Indian idols. This is, however, an exceptional case. Battel only mentions particularly two idols[3] and Bosman[4] expressly says that 'on the Gold Coast the natives are not in the least 'acquainted with image-worship;' adding, 'but at 'Ardra there are thousands of idols,' *i.e.* fetiches. At Loango there was a small black image named Chikokke which was placed in a little house close to the port.[5] These, however, were merely fetiches in human form. For instance, we are told by the same author that in Kakongo, the kingdom which lies to the south of Loango, the natives during the plague 'burnt their idols, saying, '"*If they will not help us in such a misfortune as this*, '"*when can we expect they should?*"'[6] Thus, apparently, doubting not so much their power as their will. Again, in Congo the so-called idols are placed in fields to protect the growing crops.[7] This is clearly the function of a fetich, not of a true idol.

In Madagascar, though of late years certain idols were treated with great respect, yet there seems reason to suppose that this 'idolatrous system is of compara-

[1] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 240, for Futa, and for Guinea, as far as Ardrah, p. 666.

[2] Astley's Collection of Voyages, pp. 26, 50.

[3] Adventures of A. Battel. Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 331.

[4] Bosman's Guinea. Pinkerton, *loc. cit.* p. 403.

[5] Astley, *loc. cit.* p. 216.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 217.

[7] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 229. Livingstone, Expedition to the Zambesi, p. 523.

'tively modern date.'[1] The Australians and Tasmanians have no idols.

'Idolatry,' says Williams of the Fijian, 'he seems 'never to have known; for he makes no attempt to 'fashion material representations of his gods.'[2] As regards the New Zealanders, Yate[3] says, that 'though 'remarkably superstitious, they have no gods that they 'worship: nor have they anything to represent a being 'which they call God.' Dieffenbach also observes that in New Zealand 'there is no worship of idols, or of 'bodily representations of the Atoua.'[4]

The same may be said of the Tongans; while on the other hand, the reverse was the case with the Society Islanders, and some other Polynesian tribes. The Tannese had no idols,[5] and according to Hale this is true with the Micronesians generally.[6]

Speaking of the Singè Dyaks,[7] Sir James Brooke says, 'Religion they have none; and although they 'know the name for a god' (which is probably taken from the Hindoos), 'they have no priests nor idols, say 'no prayers, offer no offerings.' He subsequently modified this opinion on some points, but as regards the absence of idols it seems to be correct.

In India the Khasias have no temples or idols.[8] The Kols of Central India worship the sun; 'material

[1] Sibree, Madagascar and its People, p. 396.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 216. Seeman's Mission to Viti, p. 154.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 141.

[4] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 118.

[5] Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 88.

[6] Ethno. of the United States Expl. Exp., pp. 77, 84.

[7] Keppel's Expedition to Borneo, vol. i. p. 231.

[8] Dalton, Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 57. Jour. Anthr. Ins., 1871, p. 130.

'idol worship they have none.'[1] Originally, says Dubois, the Hindoos did not resort 'to images of stone 'or other materials, ... but when the people of 'India had deified their heroes or other mortals, they 'began then, and not before, to have recourse to statues 'and images.'[2] The Karens, again, as a race abstain from the worship of idols.[3] In China 'it is observable[4] that 'there is not to be found, in the canonical books, the 'least footstep of idolatrous worship till the image of Fo 'was brought into China, several ages after Confucius.'

The Ostyaks never made an image of their god 'Torium,'[5] and some other Siberian tribes were without idols.[6] In fact, idols do not occur until we arrive at the stage of the highest Polynesian Islanders. Even then they are often, as Ellis expressly tells us,[7] mere shapeless pieces of wood; thus leaving much to the imagination. It may, I think, be laid down almost as a constant rule, that mankind arrives at the stage of monarchy in government before he reaches idolatry in religion.

The idol usually assumes the human form, and idolatry is closely connected with that form of religion which consists in the worship of ancestors. We have already seen how imperfectly uncivilised man realises the conception of death; and we cannot wonder that death and sleep should long have been intimately connected together in the human mind. The savage, how-

[1] Dalton, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vi. p. 32.

[2] Dubois, The People of India, p. 370.

[3] M'Mahon, K. of the Golden Chersonese, p. 125.

[4] Astley, vol. iv. p. 203.

[5] Erman, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 50.

[6] Müller, Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Empire Russe, pt. i. pp. 54, 63.

[7] Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 220.

ever, knows well that in sleep the spirit lives, even though the body appears to be dead. Morning after morning he wakes himself, and sees others rise, from sleep. Naturally, therefore, he endeavours to rouse the dead. Nor can we wonder at the very general custom of providing food and other necessaries for the use of the dead. Among races leading a settled and quiet life this habit would tend to continue longer and longer. Prayers to the dead would reasonably follow from such customs, for even without attributing a greater power to the dead than to the living, they might yet, from their different sphere and nature, exercise a considerable power, whether for good or evil. But it is impossible to distinguish a request to an invisible being from prayer; or a powerful spirit from a demigod.

The worship of ancestors has by some writers been regarded as the origin of religion. I can, however, not accept this view. It is not specially characteristic of the lowest savages, and although among them descent is traced, as we have seen, in the female line, I do not know any case in which female ancestors were worshipped.

However this may be, the worship of ancestors is certainly very widely distributed.

The Kaffirs sacrifice and pray to their deceased relatives, although 'it would perhaps be asserting too 'much to say absolutely that they believe in the exist-'ence and the immortality of the soul.'[1] In fact, their belief seems to go no further than this, that the ghosts

[1] The Basutos; Casalis, p. 243. See also Callaway's Religious System of the Amazulu. Livingstone, Zambesi, p. 46.

of the dead haunt for a certain time their previous dwelling-places, and either assist or plague the living. No special powers are attributed to them, and it would be a misnomer to call them 'Deities.'

Ancestor-worship also exists among the people of Angola, of Balonda, and of the Congo. The Nicaraguans worshipped their ancestors, regarding them as having become 'teotes' or gods.

The important part played by the worship of ancestors in the religion of Greece and Rome has been clearly shown by M. Fustel de Coulanges, in his admirable work 'La Cité Antique.'

In less civilised societies, when there were no great differences of rank, deceased spirits would, indeed, scarcely rise beyond the dignity of ghosts; but under a more settled government the ghosts of the great would tend to become gods. Thus it appears that in Polynesia [1] the worship of ancestors has tended to replace that of the earlier deities.

The nations of Mysore at the new moon 'observe a 'feast in honour of deceased parents.' [2] The Kurumbars of the Deccan also 'sacrifice to the spirits of an-'cestors,' and the same is the case with the Santals.[3] Indeed, the worship of ancestors appears to be more or less prevalent among all the aboriginal tribes of Central India.

Burton [4] considers that some of the Egba deities are 'palpably men and women of note in their day.'

'The gods whom the New Zealanders fear,' says

[1] Gerland's Cont. of Waitz's Anthropologie, vol. vi. p. 330.

[2] Buchanan, quoted in Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. viii. p. 96.

[3] Elliott, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. viii. pp. 104, 106.

[4] Abbeokuta, vol. i. p. 191.

Shortland, 'are the spirits of the dead, who are believed 'to be constantly watching over the living with 'jealous eyes.'[1] I have already mentioned that throughout Polynesia the worship of ancestors prevailed among the Sandwich Islanders and Samoans, and indeed seems to have been gaining ground over the older forms of religion; Hale says broadly[2] that the religion of the Micronesians 'is the worship of the spirits of their 'ancestors.' In Peru, the deceased Yncas were worshipped as gods,[3] and in Mexico Quetzalcoatl was doubtless, says Prescott, 'one of those benefactors of 'their species who have been deified by the gratitude of 'posterity.'[4] In Tanna and other neighbouring islands they worship the spirits of their ancestors.[5] 'There can 'be little doubt,' says Hale,[6] speaking of the Micronesians, 'that the deities worshipped in the Southern clusters 'were only deified chiefs, the memory of whose exist-'ence has been lost in the lapse of time;' in many cases, at any rate, worship is avowedly paid to the spirits of their ancestors.

Other races endeavour to preserve the memory of the dead by rude statues. Thus, ancestor-worship is very prevalent in Siberia, and Pallas[7] mentions that the Ostyaks of Siberia 'rendent aussi un culte a leurs morts 'Ils sculptent des figures de bois pour représenter les 'Ostiaks célèbres. Dans les repas de commémoration on 'place devant ces figures une partie des mets. Les

[1] Traditions of the New Zealanders, p. 81.

[2] U. S. Expl. Expedition, p. 77.

[3] Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. i. p. 93. Markham, Rites and Laws of the Yncas, p. 12.

[4] Hist. of Mexico, vol. i. p. 46.

[5] Turner, Nineteen Years in Polynesia, pp. 88, 394, 411. See also Wüttke, Ges. der Mensch. vol. i. p. 262.

[6] Ethn. of the U. S. Expl. Exp., p. 97.

[7] Pallas' Voyages, vol. iv. p. 79.

'femmes qui ont chéri leurs maris ont de pareilles 'figures, les couchent avec elles, les parent, et ne mangent 'point sans leur présenter une partie de leur portion.' Erman,[1] also, mentions that when a man dies 'the rela- 'tives form a rude wooden image representing, and in 'honour of, the deceased, which is set up in their yurt, 'and receives divine honours' for a certain time. 'At 'every meal they set an offering of food before the image; 'and should this represent a deceased husband, the widow 'embraces it from time to time, and lavishes on it every 'sign of attachment.' In ordinary cases this semi-worship 'only lasts a few years, after which the image is buried. 'But when a Shaman dies, this custom changes, in his 'favour, into a complete and decided canonisation; for 'it is not thought enough that, in this case, the dressed 'block of wood which represents the deceased should 'receive homage for a limited period, but the priest's 'descendants do their best to keep him in vogue from 'generation to generation; and by well-contrived oracles 'and other arts they manage to procure offerings for these 'their families' penates as abundant as those laid on 'the altars of the universally acknowledged gods. But 'that these latter also have an historical origin, that 'they were originally monuments of distinguished men, 'to which prescription and the interest of the Shamans 'gave by degrees an arbitrary meaning and importance, 'seems to me not liable to doubt; and this is, further- 'more, corroborated by the circumstance that of all the 'sacred yurts dedicated to these saints, which have been 'numerous from the earliest times in the vicinity of the

[1] Erman, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 51.

'river, only one has been seen (near Samarovo) con-
'taining the image of a woman.'

It seems to me that in other countries also, statues have in this manner come to be worshipped as deities.

It is, in fact, difficult to state the origin of idolatry more clearly than in the following passages from the 'Wisdom of Solomon':[1]—

'13. Neither were they from the beginning, neither
'shall they be for ever.

'14. For by the vain glory of men they entered
'into the world, and therefore shall they come shortly
'to an end.

'15. For a father afflicted with untimely mourning,
'when he hath made an image of his child soon taken
'away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a
'dead man, and delivered to those that were under him
'ceremonies and sacrifices.

'16. Thus, in process of time, an ungodly custom
'grown strong was kept as a law, and graven images
'were worshipped by the commandments of kings:

'17. Whom men could not honour in presence, be-
'cause they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of
'the visage from far, and made an express image of a
'king whom they honoured, to the end that by this their
'forwardness, they might flatter him that was absent
'as if he were present.

'18. Also the singular diligence of the artificer did
'help to set forward the ignorant to more superstition.

'19. For he, peradventure willing to please one in
'authority, forced all his skill to make the resemblance
'of the best fashion.

[1] Wisdom, ch. xiv. 12.

'20. And so the multitude, allured by the grace of 'the work, took him now for a god, which a little before 'was but honoured as a man.'

The idol is by no means regarded as a mere emblem. In India,[1] when the offerings of the people have been less profuse than usual, the Brahmans sometimes 'put 'the idols in irons, chaining their hands and feet. 'They exhibit them to the people in this humiliating 'state, into which they tell them they have been 'brought by rigorous creditors, from whom their gods 'had been obliged, in times of trouble, to borrow money 'to supply their wants. They declare that the in-'exorable creditors refuse to set the god at liberty, 'until the whole sum, with interest, shall have been 'paid. The people come forward, alarmed at the sight 'of their divinity in irons; and thinking it the most 'meritorious of all good works to contribute to his 'deliverance, they raise the sum required by the 'Brahmins for that purpose.'

'A statue of Hercules[2] was worshipped at Tyre, not 'as a representative of the Deity, but as the Deity him-'self; and accordingly, when Tyre was besieged by 'Alexander, the Deity was fast bound in chains, to 'prevent him from deserting to the enemy.'

It is hard for us to appreciate the difficulty which an undeveloped mind finds in raising itself to any elevated conception. Thus Campbell mentions that a Highlander, wishing to describe a castle of the utmost possible magnificence, ended with this climax: 'That was 'the beautiful castle! There was not a shadow of a

[1] Dubois, The People of India, p. 407.

[2] History of Man, vol. iv. p. 316.

'thing that was for the use of a castle that was not 'in it, even to a herd for the geese.' As, however, civilisation progresses, and the chiefs, becoming more despotic, exact more and more respect, the people are introduced to conceptions of power and magnificence higher than any which they had previously entertained.

Hence, though the worship of ancestors occurs among races in the stage of Totemism, it long survives, and may be regarded as characterising Idolatry; which is really a higher religion and generally indicates a more advanced mental condition than the worship of animals or of the heavenly bodies. At first sight the reverse would appear to be the case: most would regard the sun as a far grander deity than any in human form. As a matter of fact, however, this is not so, and worship is generally, though not invariably, associated with a lower idea of the Deity than is the case with Idolatry.

Indeed, the very circumstances which to our minds almost render the sun worthy of deification are precisely those which made sun-worship comparatively a rare form of religion amongst the lower races of savages.

Again, in the lowest religions, man does not form to himself any definite conception of Deity. If we enquire in what sense a savage regards a tree or a serpent as a deity, we are putting to ourselves a question which the savage does not think of asking. But when religion acquired a more intellectual character—when it included faith as well as feeling, belief as well as mystery—man first conceived the Deity as a being like himself in form, character, and attributes, only wiser and more

powerful. This is one reason why the deities in this stage are anthropomorphous.

Another is the fact that the gradually increasing power of chiefs and kings has familiarised the mind with the existence of a power greater than any which has been previously conceived. Thus, in Western Africa, the slave trade having added considerably to the wealth and consequently to the power of the chiefs or kings, they maintained much state, and insisted upon being treated with servile homage. No man was allowed to eat with them, or to approach them excepting on his knees, with an appearance of fear, which no doubt was in many cases sufficiently well-founded.

These marks of respect so much resembled adoration, that 'the individuals[1] of the lower classes are 'persuaded that his (the king's) power is not confined 'to the earth.'

Battel mentions that the king of Loango 'is honoured 'among them as though he were a god.'[2] He is so holy that no one is allowed to see him eat or drink. The tyrants of Natal, says Casalis, 'exacted almost divine homage.'[3]

In Peru the Ynca Uiraccocha was adored as a god even during his life, 'though he wished to teach the 'Indians not to worship him.'[4]

In Madagascar, also, the reigning sovereign was regarded almost as a god.[5]

In New Zealand, says Hale,[6] 'the great warrior

[1] Proyart's History of Loango, Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 577. See also Bosman, *loc. cit.* pp. 488, 491. Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. pp. 70, 223, 226.

[2] Pinkerton's Travels, vol. xvi. p. 330.

[3] The Basutos, p. 219.

[4] Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. ii. p. 67.

[5] Sibree, Madagascar and its People, p. 315.

[6] U. S. Expl. Exped., p. 21.

'chief, Hongi, claimed for himself the title of a god, 'and was so called by his followers. At the Society 'Islands, Tamatoa, the last heathen king of Raitea, was 'worshipped as a divinity. At the Marquesas there are, 'on every island, several men who are termed *atua*, or 'gods, who receive the same adoration, and are believed 'to possess the same powers, as other deities. . . . 'At Depeyster's group, the westernmost cluster of 'Polynesia, we were visited by a chief, who announced 'himself as the *atua* or god of the islands, and was 'acknowledged as such by the other natives.'

The king and queen of Tahiti were regarded as so sacred that nothing once used by them, not even the sounds forming their names, could be used for any ordinary purpose.[1] The language of the court was characterised by the most ridiculous adulation. The king's 'houses were called the aarai, the clouds of 'heaven; anuanua, the rainbow, was the name of the 'canoe in which he voyaged; his voice was called 'thunder; the glare of the torches in his dwelling was 'denominated lightning; and when the people saw 'them in the evening, as they passed near his abode, 'instead of saying the torches were burning in the 'palace, they would observe that the lightning was 'flashing in the clouds of heaven.'

Man-worship would not, indeed, be long confined to the dead. In many cases it extends to the living also. Indeed, the savage who worships an animal or a tree, would see no absurdity in worshipping a man. His chief is, in his eyes, almost as powerful as, if not more so than, his deity. Yet man-worship does not prevail in

[1] Ellis' Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. pp. 348, 360.

altogether uncivilised communities, because the chiefs, associating constantly with their followers, lack that mystery which religion requires, and which nocturnal animals so eminently possess. As, however, civilisation progresses, and the chiefs separate themselves more and more from their subjects, this ceases to be the case, and man-worship becomes an important element of religion.

The worship of a great chief seems quite as natural to man as that of an idol. 'Why,' said a Mongol[1] to Friar Ascelin, 'since you Christians make no scruple to 'adore sticks and stones, why do you refuse to do the same 'honour to Bayoth Noy, whom the Khan hath ordered 'to be adored in the same manner as he is himself?'

'Tuikilakila,[2] the chief of Somosomo, offered Mr. 'Hunt a preferment of the same sort. "If you die '"first," said he, "I shall make you my god." In fact, 'there appears to be no certain line of demarcation 'between departed spirits and gods, nor between gods 'and living men, for many of the priests and old chiefs 'are considered as sacred persons, and not a few of them 'will also claim to themselves the right of divinity. "I am '"a god." Tuikilakila would sometimes say; and he be-'lieved it too. They were not merely the words of his lips; 'he believed he was something above a mere man.'

This worship is, however, almost always accompanied by a belief in higher beings. We have already seen that the New Zealanders and some other nations have almost entirely abandoned the worship of animals, &c., without as yet realising the higher stage of Idolatry, owing probably in great measure to their political condition. In other cases where Shamanism has not so

[1] Astley, vol. iv. p. 551. [2] Erskine's Western Pacific, p. 246.

effectually replaced Totemism, the establishment of monarchical government, with its usual pomp and ceremonial, led to a much more organised worship of the old gods. Of this the serpent-worship in Western Africa, and the sun-worship in Peru, are striking examples.

I do not therefore wonder that white men should have been so often taken for deities. This was the case with Captain Cook in the Pacific, with Lander in Western Africa,[1] and, as already mentioned, Mrs. Thomson was regarded by the North Australians as a spirit, though she lived with them for some years. In the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake [2] it is mentioned that some of the North American Indians brought 'feathers and 'bags of *Tobah* for presents, or rather indeed for sacri-'fices, upon this persuasion that we were gods.' Mr. Hale tells us that the natives of Oatufu and other islands thought that these 'came from above, in the 'sky, and were divinities.' [3]

Several other similar cases have been already referred to (*ante*, p. 263).

It seems at first sight hard to understand how men can be regarded as immortal. Yet even this belief has been entertained in various countries.

Merolla tells us [4] that in his time the wizards of Congo were called Scinghili, that is to say, Gods of the Earth. The head of them is styled Ganga Chitorne, 'being reputed God of all the Earth.' 'He further 'asserts that his body is not capable of suffering a

[1] See *ante*, p. 257.

[2] Jones, Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 396. Stevens, Flint Chips, pp. 318, 319.

[3] U. S. Expl. Exp., pp. 153, 156. See also Gerland, Anthr. der Naturvölker, vol. vi. p. 667.

[4] Pinkerton, vol. xvi. p. 226, *et seq.*

'natural death; and, therefore, to confirm his adorers in 'that opinion, whenever he finds his end approaching, 'either through age or disease, he calls for such a one 'of his disciples as he designs to succeed him, and pre- 'tends to communicate to him his great powers: and 'afterwards in public (where this tragedy is always 'acted) he commands him to tie a halter about his neck 'and to strangle himself therewith, or else to take a 'club and knock him down dead. This command being 'once pronounced, is soon executed, and the wizard 'thereby sent a martyr to the devil. The reason that 'this is done in public is to make known the successor 'ordained by the last breath of the predecessor, and to 'show that it has the same power of producing rain, 'and the like. If this office were not thus continually 'filled, the inhabitants say that the earth would soon 'become barren, and mankind consequently perish. In 'my time, one of these magicians was cast into the sea, 'another into a river, a mother and her son put to 'death, and many others banished by our order, as has 'been said.'

So also the Great Lama of Thibet is regarded as immortal; though his spirit occasionally passes from one earthly tenement to another.

These, then, are the lowest intellectual stages through which religion has passed. It is no part of my plan to describe the various religious beliefs of the higher races. I have, however, stopped short sooner perhaps than I should otherwise have done, because the worship of personified principles, such as Fear, Love, Hope, &c., could not have been treated apart from that of the Phallus or Lingam with which it was so inti-

mately associated in Greece, India, Mexico, and elsewhere; and which, though at first modest and pure, as all religions are in their origin, led to such abominable practices that it is one of the most painful chapters in human history.

I will now, therefore, pass on to some points intimately connected with religion, but which could not be conveniently treated in the earlier part of this work.

There is no difficulty in understanding that when once the idea of Spiritual Beings had become habitual —when once man had come to regard them as exercising an important influence, whether for good or evil —he would endeavour to secure their assistance and support. Before a war he would try to propitiate them by promising a share of the spoil after victory; and fear, even if no higher motive, would ensure the performance of his promise.

We, no doubt, regard, and justly regard, sacrifices as unnecessary. 'I will take no bullock,' says David,[1] 'out of thine house, nor he goat out of thy folds.' This sentiment, however, was far in advance of its time, and even Solomon felt that sacrifices, in the then condition of the Jews, were necessary. They form, indeed, a stage through which, in any natural process of development, religion must pass. At first it is supposed that the Spirits actually eat the food offered to them. Soon, however, it would be observed that animals sacrificed did not disappear; and the natural explanation would be that the Spirit ate the spiritual part of the victim, leaving the grosser portion to his devout worshipper. Thus the Limboos, near Darjeeling, eat their sacrifices,

[1] Psalm l.

dedicating, as they forcibly express it, 'the life-breath 'to the gods, the flesh to ourselves.' [1]

So also, as Sir G. Grey tells us, the New Zealand fairies, when Te Kanawa gave them his jewels, carried off the shadows only, not caring for the earthly substance.[2] In Guinea, according to Bosman, 'the idol 'hath only the blood, because they like the flesh very 'well themselves.' [3] In other cases the idols were smeared with the blood, while the devotees feasted on the flesh. The Ostyaks, when they kill an animal, rub some of the blood on the mouths of their idols. Even this seems at length to be replaced in some cases, as Mr. Tylor has suggested, by red paint. Thus, the sacred stones in India, as Colonel Forbes Leslie has shown, are frequently ornamented with red.[4] So also in Congo it is customary to daub the fetiches with red every new moon.

Of the great offerings of food among the Fijians, says Williams,[5] 'native belief apportions merely the 'soul thereof to the gods, who are described as being 'enormous eaters; the substance is consumed by the 'worshippers.'

In Madagascar 'in almost all cases the worshippers 'seem to have feasted on the flesh.' [6]

Gradually, indeed, it comes to be a necessary portion of the ceremony that the victim should be eaten by those present. Thus, in India,[7] when the sacrifice

[1] Campbell, in Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vii. p. 153.

[2] Polynesian Mythology, p. 294.

[3] Bosman, Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 531. Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. p. 97.

[4] See, for instance, Early Races of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 464.

[5] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 231. See also p. 223.

[6] Sibree, Madagascar and its People, p. 389.

[7] Dubois, The People of India, p. 401.

is over, 'the priest comes out, and distributes part of 'the articles which have been offered to the idols. 'This is received as holy, and is eaten immedi- 'ately.'

Ellis [1] mentions an indication of this in Tahiti, when human sacrifices prevailed, but cannibalism was abandoned. The priest handed a portion of the victim to the king, 'who raised it to his mouth as if desirous to 'eat it,' but then handed it to an attendant. Among the Redskins,[2] at the feast held when the hunting season begins, the victim 'must be all eaten and nothing 'left.' It is remarkable that among the Algonkins another rule at the same feast is that not a bone of the victim must be broken.[3]

In many cases a curious confusion arises between the victim and the deity, and the former is worshipped before it is sacrificed and eaten. Thus in ancient Egypt, Apis, the victim, was also regarded as the God,[4] and Iphigenia was supposed by some to be the same as Artemis.[5] The same explanation of the facts has been subsequently adopted by H. Spencer.[6]

In Mexico [7] at a certain period of the year the priest of Quetzalcoatl made an image of the Deity, of meal mixed with infants' blood, and then, after many impressive ceremonies, killed the image by shooting it with an arrow, and tore out the heart, which was eaten by the king, while the rest of the body was distributed

[1] Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 214.

[2] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. iii. p. 61. Tanner's Narrative, p. 287.

[3] Tanner's Narrative, p. 195.

[4] Cox's Manual of Mythology, p. 213.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 158.

[6] The Principles of Sociology, p. 300.

[7] See Müller, Ges. d. Amer. Urr. p. 605. Wüttke, Ges. der Mensch., vol. i. p. 314.

among the people, every one of whom was most anxious to procure a piece to eat, however small.

The great yearly sacrifice in honour of Tezcatlipoca was also very remarkable. Some beautiful youth, usually a war captive, was chosen as the victim. For a whole year he was treated and worshipped as a god. When he went out he was attended by a numerous train of pages, and the crowd as he passed prostrated themselves before him, and did him homage as the impersonation of the good Deity. Everything he could wish was provided for him, and at the commencement of the last month four beautiful girls were allotted to him as wives. Finally, when the fatal day arrived, he was placed at the head of a solemn procession, taken to the temple, and after being sacrificed with much ceremony and every token of respect, he was eaten by the priests and chiefs.[1]

Again, among the Khonds[2] of Central India human sacrifices prevailed until quite lately. 'A stout stake 'is driven into the soil, and to it the victim is fastened, 'seated, and anointed with ghee, oil, and turmeric, 'decorated with flowers, and *worshipped* during the day 'by the assembly. At nightfall the licentious revelry 'is resumed, and on the third morning the victim gets 'some milk to drink, when the presiding priest implores 'the goddess to shower her blessings on the people.

'After the mock ceremony, nevertheless, the victim 'is taken to the grove where the sacrifice is to be 'carried out; and, to prevent resistance, the bones of

[1] Müller, *loc. cit.* p. 617. Prescott, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 5. Rites and Laws of the Incas, p. 28.

[2] Dr. Shortt, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vi. p. 273. Campbell, Wild Tribes of Khondistan, p. 112.

'the arms and legs are broken, or the victim drugged 'with opium or datura, when the janni wounds his 'victim with his axe. This act is followed up by the 'crowd; a number now press forward to obtain a piece 'of his flesh, and in a moment he is stripped to the 'bones.'

An almost identical custom prevails among the Marimos, a tribe of South Africa much resembling the Bechuanas. We find amongst them, says Arbousset, 'the practice of human sacrifices on the occasion of a 'ceremony which they call *meseletso oa mabele*, or *the 'boiling of the corn*. They generally select for this 'sacrifice a young man, stout, but of small stature. 'They secure him, it may be by violence, or it may 'be by intoxicating him with *yoala*. They then 'lead him into the fields, and sacrifice him in the 'midst of the fields, according to their own expres- 'sion, *for seed*. His blood, after having been coagu- 'lated by the rays of the sun, is burned along with 'the frontal bone, the flesh attached to it, and the 'brain. The ashes are then scattered over the lands 'to fertilise them, and the remainder of the body is 'eaten.'[1]

Schoolcraft[2] mentions a very similar sacrifice to the 'Spirit of Corn' among the Pawnees. The victim was first tortured by being suspended over a fire. 'At a 'given signal a hundred arrows were let fly, and her 'whole body was pierced. These were immediately 'withdrawn, and her flesh cut from her bones in small 'pieces, which were put into baskets, and carried into

[1] Tour to the N.E. of the Cape Good Hope, p. 58.

[2] Schoolcraft's Personal Memoirs p. 614.

'the cornfield, where the grain was being planted, and 'the blood squeezed out on each hill.'

In some parts of Africa 'eating the fetich' is a solemn ceremony, by which women swear fidelity to their husbands, men to their friends. On a marriage in Issini, the parties 'eat the fetich together, in token of 'friendship, and as an assurance of the woman's fidelity 'to her husband.'[1] In taking an oath, also, the same ceremony is observed. To know, says Loyer, 'the 'truth from any negro, you need only mix something 'in a little water, and steeping a bit of bread, bid him 'eat or drink that fetich as a sign of the truth. If the 'thing be so he will do it freely; but if otherwise, he 'will not touch it, believing he should die on the spot 'if he swore falsely.'

The sacrifices were, as a general rule, not eaten by all indiscriminately. In Fiji they were confined to the old men and priests; women and young men being excluded from any share.

In many cases, the priests gradually established a claim to the whole; a result which could not fail to act as a considerable stimulus to the practice of sacrifice. It also affected the character of the worship. Thus, as Bosman tells us, the priests encouraged offerings to the Serpent rather than to the Sea, because, in the latter case, as he expresses it, there happens no remainder to 'be left for them.'

As already mentioned, the feeling which has led to the sacrifice of animals would naturally culminate in that of men. So natural, indeed, does the idea of human sacrifice appear to the human mind in this stage

[1] Loyer, in Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 436, 441.

that we meet with it in various nations all over the world ; and it is unjust to regard it, with Prescott,[1] as evidence of fiendish passions : on the contrary, it indicates deep and earnest religious feeling, perverted by an erroneous conception of the Divine character.

Human sacrifices occurred in Guinea,[2] and Burton[3] saw 'at Benin city a young woman lashed to a scaffolding upon the summit of a tall blasted tree, and being devoured by the turkey-buzzards. The people declared it to be a "fetich" or charm for bringing rain.' I have already mentioned the existence of human sacrifice among the Marimos of South Africa.

Captain Cook describes human sacrifices as prevalent among the islanders of the Pacific,[4] and especially in the Sandwich group.[5] He particularly describes[6] the case of a sacrifice offered by Towha, chief of the district of Tettha, in Tahiti, to propitiate the Deity on the occasion of an expedition against Eimeo (Pl. IV.) ; and mentions that, during the ceremony, 'a kingfisher making a noise in the trees, Otoo (the king) turned to me, saying, "That is the Eatooá," *i.e.* Deity.' War captives were frequently sacrificed in Brazil.

In Madagascar human sacrifices seem to have prevailed in the province of Vangaidrano, but not elsewhere.[7]

Various nations in India besides the Khonds, who have been already mentioned, used to offer up human sacrifices on extraordinary occasions ; but so recently

[1] History of Mexico, vol. i. p. 68.

[2] Astley's Collection of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 113.

[3] Abbeokuta, vol. i. p. 19.

[4] Cook, Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 41.

[5] *Loc. cit.* vol. iii. p. 161.

[6] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 30.

[7] Sibree, Madagascar and its People, p. 390.

as 1865-66 such sacrifices were resorted to in hopes of averting the famine ;[1] and even now in some places, though the actual sacrifice is no longer permitted, they make human figures of flour, paste, or clay, and then cut off the heads in honour of their gods ;[2] just as the Romans used to throw dolls into the Tiber as a substitute for human sacrifices.

Many cases of human sacrifice are mentioned in ancient history. The Carthaginians, after their defeat of Agathocles, burnt some of their captives as a sacrifice ; the Assyrians offered human sacrifices to the god Nergal.

Although resorted to on various critical occasions by the Greeks, human sacrifice appears to have been foreign to the mythology and opposed to the spirit of that people. Human sacrifices are connected with a more earnest and melancholy theology. In Roman history they occur far more frequently, and even down to a late date. In the year 46 B.C. Cæsar sacrificed two soldiers on the altar in the Campus Martius.[3] Augustus is said to have sacrificed a maiden named Gregoria.[4] Even Trajan, when Antioch was rebuilt, sacrificed Calliope, and placed her statue in the theatre.[5] Under Commodus, and later emperors, human sacrifices appear to have been more common ; and a gladiator appears to have been sacrificed to Jupiter Latialis even in the time of Constantine.[6] Yet these awful rites had been expressly forbidden B.C. 95 ; and Pliny asserts that in his time they were never openly solemnised.[7]

In Northern Europe human sacrifices were not un-

[1] Hunter, Annals of Rural Bengal, 1868, p. 128.
[2] Dubois, *loc. cit.* p. 490.
[3] Dio. H. R., xliii. 24.
[4] Malalas, Chron., p. 221.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 275.
[6] Porphyry, De Abstin., ii. 56.
[7] Nat. His., xxx. 1, 12.

common. The Yarl of the Orkneys is recorded to have sacrificed the son of the King of Norway to Odin in the year 893.[1] In 993, Hakon Yarl sacrificed his own son to the gods. Donald, King of Sweden, was burnt by his people as a sacrifice to Odin, in consequence of a severe famine.[2] At Upsala was a celebrated temple, round which an eye-witness assured Adam of Bremen that he had seen the corpses of seventy-two victims hanging up at one time.[3]

In Russia, as in Scandinavia, human sacrifices continued down to the introduction of Christianity. In Mexico and Peru they seem to have been peculiarly numerous. Müller[4] has suggested that this may have partly arisen from the fact that these nations were not softened by the possession of domestic animals. Various estimates have been made of the number of human victims annually sacrificed in the Mexican temples. Müller thinks 2,500 is a moderate estimate; and in one year it appears to have exceeded 100,000.

Among the Jews we find a system of animal sacrifices on a great scale, and symbols of human sacrifices, which can, I think, only be understood on the hypothesis that the latter were once usual. The case of Jephthah's daughter is generally looked upon as quite exceptional,[5] but the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth verses of the twenty-seventh chapter of Leviticus appear to indicate that human sacrifices were at one time habitual among the Jews.

[1] Snorre, Heimskringla, vol. ii. p. 31. Torfæus, His. Rer. Norvegicarum, vol. ii. p. 52.

[2] Snorre, vol. i. p. 56.

[3] Adam of Bremen, vol. iv. p. 27.

[4] Geschichte der Americanischen Urreligionen, p. 23.

[5] See Kalisch, Commentary on the Old Testament, Lev., pt. i. p. 409.

I do not here refer to the human sacrifices at burials, because these are not, strictly speaking, of a religious character, but intended to supply the deceased with wives or slaves in the land of spirits.

The lower savages have no temples or sacred buildings. Throughout the new world there was no such thing as a temple, excepting among the semi-civilised races of Central America and Peru.

The Stiens of Cambodia 'have neither priests nor 'temples.'[1] We should seek in vain, says Casalis,[2] 'from the extremity of the southern promontory of 'Africa to the country far beyond the banks of the 'Zambesi, for anything like the pagodas of India, the 'maraes of Polynesia, or the fetich huts of Nigritia.' The people of Madagascar, as we are informed by Drury,[3] who resided fifteen years among them, although they have settled abodes, keep large herds of cattle, and are diligent agriculturists, 'have no temples, no taber-'nacles or groves for the public performance of their 'divine worship ; neither have they solemn fasts, or fes-'tivals, or set days or times ; nor priests to do it for them.'

The Toorkmans, says Burnes,[4] 'are without 'mosques.' The Micronesians, according to Hale,[5] 'have neither temples, images, nor sacrifices.' The Khasias[6] 'have no temples.' The same is the case with the Ostyaks and other savage races of Siberia.[7]

[1] Mouhot's Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China, vol. i. p. 250.

[2] The Basutos, p. 237.

[3] Adventures of Robert Drury, p. 10.

[4] Travels into Bokhara, vol. ii. p. 260.

[5] U.S. Explor. Exped., pp. 77, 84.

[6] Godwin-Austen, Jour. of the Anthr. Inst., 1871, p. 130.

[7] Müller, Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Emp. Russe, pt. ii. p. 105; pt. iii. p. 141.

GROUP OF SACRED STONES IN THE DEKHAN

Professor Nilsson was, I believe, the first to point out that certain races buried the dead in their houses, and that the chambered tumuli of Northern Europe are probably copies of the dwellings then used ; sometimes perhaps the actual dwellings themselves. We know that as the power of chiefs increased, their tombs became larger and more magnificent ; and Mr. Fergusson has well shown how, in India, the tumulus has developed into the temple.

In some cases, as, for instance, in India, it is far from easy to distinguish between a group of stone gods and a sacred fane. In fact, we may be sure that the very same stones are by some supposed to be actual deities, while others more advanced regard them as sacred only because devoted to religious purposes. Some of the ruder Hindostan tribes actually worship upright stones ; but Colonel Forbes Leslie regards the sacred stones represented in Pl. III. as a place of worship, rather than as actual deities ; and this is at any rate the case with another group similarly painted, which he observed near Andlee, also in the Dekhan, and which is peculiarly interesting from its resemblance to those stone circles of our own country of which Stonehenge is (see *Frontispiece*) the grandest representative. Fig. 18, p. 259, represents[1] a religious dance as practised by the Redskins of Virginia. Here, also, as already mentioned, we see a sacred circle of stones, differing from those of our own country, and of India, only in having a human head rudely carved on each stone.

The lower races of men have no Priests properly so called. Many passages, indeed, may be quoted which,

[1] Mœurs des Sauv. Amér., vol. ii. p. 136.

at first sight, appear to negative this assertion. If, however, we examine more closely the true functions of these so-called 'priests,' we shall easily satisfy ourselves that the term is a misnomer, and that wizards only are intended. Without temples and sacrifices there cannot be priests.

According to Drury, there were no priests in Madagascar; more recently, however, the guardians of the idols had usurped priestly functions and even claimed for themselves immunities from legal consequences, akin to the custom of privilege of clergy, which survived until so recently among ourselves.[1]

The New Zealanders[2] had 'no regular priesthood.' Neither the Hill Tribes of India nor the Vedic Aryans had priests. Mr. Gladstone[3] observes that the priest was not, 'as such, a significant personage in Greece at 'any period, nor had the priest of any one place or 'deity, so far as we know, any organic connection with 'the priest of any other; so that if there were priests, 'yet there was not a priesthood.'

Müller again expresses himself in very similar language. 'That there ever was in Greece,' he says, 'a priesthood, strictly speaking, in contradistinction to 'a laity, is a point which, in my opinion, cannot at all 'be established.'[4]

The progress seems to be that at first all men were, in this respect at least, alike. After a while some became more celebrated than others as sorcerers and diviners. These persons gradually associated them-

[1] Sibree, Madagascar and its People, p. 400.
[2] Yate, p. 146.
[3] Juventus Mundi, p. 181.
[4] Scientific System of Mythology, p. 188.

selves into a special class or caste, and assumed also the functions of doctors and priests. These qualities by degrees assumed more and more importance. It is therefore, in some cases, difficult to say whether the 'medicine men,' or 'mystery men,' are doctors or priests. For instance, among the Kaffirs there are certain persons known as 'Isanusi,' 'Intonga,' or, 'Igqira,' which terms, says Mr. Warner,[1] 'I choose to 'translate by the word "priest," in preference to that of '"doctor," the term generally employed by Europeans 'to designate this class of persons.'

An important part of their duty consists in regulating the weather. 'This,' says Mr. Warner,[2] 'is another 'of the heathenish vanities in which the benighted 'Kaffirs put their trust. They firmly believe that some 'of their priests have the power to cause it to rain.'

I have already pointed out (*ante*, p. 238) the great difference between the belief in ghosts and in the immortality of the soul. Some races entirely disbelieve in the survival of the soul after the death of the body, and even those which are more advanced often differ from us very much in their views; in fact the belief in a universal, independent, and endless existence is confined to the very highest races of men.[3] The New Zealanders believe that a man who is eaten as well as killed, is thus destroyed both soul and body. Even, however, those who have proper interment are far from secure of reaching the happy regions in the land of spirits. The road to these is long and dangerous, and many a soul perishes by the way.

[1] Kaffir Laws and Customs, p. 80.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 104.
[3] Taylor, New Zealand and its Inhabitants, p. 101.

In the Tonga Islands the chiefs are regarded as immortal, the Tooas or common people as mortal ; with reference to the intermediate class, or Mooas, there is a difference of opinion.

A friend of Mr. Lang's[1] 'tried long and patiently to 'make a very intelligent docile Australian black under-'stand his existence without a body, but the black 'never could keep his countenance, and generally made 'an excuse to get away. One day the teacher watched 'and found that he went to have a hearty fit of 'laughter at the absurdity of the idea of a man living 'and going about without arms, legs, or mouth to eat ; 'for a long time he could not believe that the gentle-'man was serious, and when he did realise it, the more 'serious the teacher was, the more ludicrous the whole 'affair appeared to the black.'

The resurrection of the body as preached by the missionaries,[2] appeared to the Tahitians 'astounding' and 'incredible ;' and 'as the subject was more fre-'quently brought under their notice in public discourse 'or in reading the Scriptures, and their minds were 'more attentively exercised upon it in connection with 'their ancestry, themselves, and their descendants, it 'appeared invested with more than ordinary difficulty, 'bordering, to their apprehension, on impossibility.'

Although the Fijians believe that almost everything has a spirit, few spirits are immortal : the road to Mbulu is long, and beset with so many difficulties, that after all few attain to immortality.[3]

[1] The Aborigines of Australia, p. 31.

[2] Ellis, Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 165.

[3] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 247. Seemann, Mission to Viti, p. 400.

We find a very similar belief also among the Esquimaux [1] and the Kaffirs.[2]

As regards Central India, Colonel Dalton says,[3] 'I 'do not think that the present generation of Kols have 'any notion of a heaven or hell that may not be traced 'to Brahminical or Christian teaching. The old idea 'is that the souls of the dead become "bhoots," spirits, 'but no thought of reward or punishment is connected 'with the change. When a Ho swears, the oath has 'no reference whatever to a future state. He prays 'that if he speak not the truth he may be afflicted in 'this world with the loss of all—health, wealth, wife, 'children: that he may sow without reaping, and 'finally may be devoured by a tiger; but he swears 'not by any happiness beyond the grave. He has in 'his primitive state no such hope; and I believe that 'most Indian aborigines, though they may have some 'vague ideas of continuous existence, will be found 'equally devoid of original notions in regard to the 'judgment to come.'

In his 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' he makes a similar statement with reference to the Chalikatas, another of the hill tribes, declaring that they 'utterly 'rejected all notions of a future state. The spirits they 'propitiated were, they declared, mortal like them-'selves.'[4] The Buihers,[5] Oraons,[6] and Juangs[7] also held very similar views. Again, 'all enquirers on the

[1] Crantz's Greenland, p. 259; quoted in Tylor's Primitive Culture, vol. ii. p. 20.

[2] Callaway, Amazulu Religion, p. 355.

[3] Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1867, p. 38.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 21.

[5] Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 133.

[6] *Loc. cit.* p. 257.

[7] *Loc. cit.* p. 157.

'subject appeared to have arrived at the conclusion that 'the Santals have no belief in a future state.'[1]

Among the Micronesians, according to Hale,[2] the souls of those, 'only those, who are tattooed (being 'chiefly persons of free birth) can expect to reach the '*Kainakaki*. All others are intercepted on their way, 'and devoured by a monstrous giantess, called *Baine*.' Some of the Guinea negroes considered that the soul of the departed was subjected to an examination as to his conduct during life, and if found wanting, 'his god 'plunges him into the river, where he is drowned, and 'buried in eternal oblivion.'[3]

Even when the spirit is supposed to survive the body, the condition of souls after death is not at first considered to differ materially from that during life. Heaven is merely a distant part of earth. Thus the 'seats of happiness are represented by some Hindu 'writers to be vast mountains on the north of India.'[4]

The Haitians considered that the paradise of the dead was situated in the lovely western valleys of their island.[5] Again, in Tonga the souls are supposed to go to Bolotoo, a large island to the north-west, well stocked[6] with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, 'always 'bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful 'flowers, according to their respective natures; that 'when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others imme-'diately occupy their place. . . . The island of Bolotoo 'is supposed to be so far off as to render it dangerous

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 218.
[2] U.S. Expl. Exped., p. 99.
[3] Bosman, Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 401.
[4] Dubois, *loc. cit.* p. 485.
[5] Tylor's Primitive Culture, vol. ii. p. 56.
[6] Mariner, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 108.

'for their canoes to attempt going there; and it is 'supposed, moreover, that even if they were to succeed 'in reaching so far, unless it happened to be the parti- 'cular will of the gods, they would be sure to miss it.'

They believe, however, that on one occasion a canoe actually reached Bolotoo. The crew landed, but when they attempted to touch anything 'they could no more 'lay hold of it than if it had been a shadow.' Consequently hunger soon overtook them, and forced them to return, which they fortunately succeeded in doing.

A curious notion, already referred to, is the belief that each man has several souls. It is common to various parts of America,[1] and exists in Madagascar as well as among the Khonds of Hindostan. It apparently arises from the idea that each pulse is the seat of a different life. It also derives an appearance of probability from the inconsistencies of behaviour to which savages are so prone. The Fijians also believed that each man has two spirits.[2] Among the ancient Greeks and Romans there are some indications of the existence of a similar belief.[3]

The belief in a future state, if less elevated than our own, is singularly vivid among some barbarous races. Thus we are told that among the Ancient Britons money was habitually lent on what may strictly be termed 'postobits'—promises to pay in another world, and it is said that the same thing occurs even now in Japan.

[1] Tertre's History of the Caribby Islands, p. 288. It prevails also in Greenland, Müller, Ges. der Am. Urreligionen, p. 66; and among the Chippewas. Schoolcraft, vol. vi. p. 664.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 241.

[3] Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 424.

A striking instance of undoubting faith is mentioned by Mr. Tylor. A Hindoo thought he had been unfairly deprived of forty rupees, whereupon he cut off his own mother's head, with her full consent, in order that her spirit might haunt and harass the man who had taken the money, and those concerned with him.[1]

The Fijians believe that 'as they die, such will be 'their condition in another world; hence their desire to 'escape extreme infirmity.'[2] The way to Mbulu, as already mentioned, is long and difficult; many always perish, and no diseased or infirm person could possibly succeed in surmounting all the dangers of the road. Hence, as soon as a man feels the approach of old age, he notifies to his children that it is time for him to die. If he neglects to do so, the children after a while take the matter into their own hands. A family consultation is held, a day appointed, and the grave dug. The aged person has his choice of being strangled or buried alive. Mr. Hunt gives the following striking description of such a ceremony once witnessed by him. A young man came to him and invited him to attend his mother's funeral, which was just going to take place. Mr. Hunt accepted the invitation, and joined the procession, but, surprised to see no corpse, he made enquiries, when the young man 'pointed out his mother, who was walking 'along with them, as gay and lively as any of those 'present, and apparently as much pleased. Mr. Hunt 'expressed his surprise to the young man, and asked how 'he could deceive him so much by saying his mother 'was dead, when she was alive and well. He said, in

[1] Primitive Culture, vol. ii. p. 103.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 183.

'reply, that they had made her death-feast, and were 'now going to bury her; that she was old, that his 'brother and himself had thought she had lived long 'enough, and it was time to bury her, to which she had 'willingly assented, and they were about it now. He 'had come to Mr. Hunt to ask his prayers, as they did 'those of the priest.

'He added, that it was from love for his mother 'that he had done so; that in consequence of the same 'love, they were now going to bury her, and that none 'but themselves could or ought to do such a sacred 'office! Mr. Hunt did all in his power to prevent so 'diabolical an act; but the only reply he received was 'that she was their mother, and they were her children, 'and they ought to put her to death. On reaching the 'grave, the mother sat down, when they all, including 'children, grandchildren, relations and friends, took an 'affectionate leave of her; a rope, made of twisted 'tapa, was then passed twice round her neck by her 'sons, who took hold of it and strangled her; after 'which she was put into her grave, with the usual 'ceremonies.'[1]

So general was this custom that in one town containing several hundred inhabitants Captain Wilkes did not see one man over forty years of age, all the old people having been buried. The same belief is found in other Pacific Islands, as, for instance, in the Hervey Islands.[2]

For the same reason the Australians in some cases cut off the right thumb of a dead foe, believing that

[1] Wilkes' Exploring Expedition, condensed edition, p. 211.

[2] Gill, Myths of the South Pacific, p. 162.

being thus 'unable to throw the spear or to use the 'dowak efficiently, his spirit can do them very little 'injury.'[1] We find also a very similar belief among some of the negroes.[2]

In Dahome the king sends constant messages to his deceased father, by messengers who are killed for the purpose.[3] The same firm belief which leads to this reconciles the messengers to their fate. They are well treated beforehand, and their death, being instantaneous, is attended with little pain. Hence we are assured that they are quite cheerful and contented, and scarcely seem to look on their death as a misfortune.

The North American Indian, as Schoolcraft tells us, has little dread of death. 'He does not fear to go to a 'land which, all his life long, he has heard abounds in 'rewards without punishments.'[4] The Japanese commit suicide for the most trifling causes; and it is said that in China, if a rich man is condemned to death, he can sometimes purchase a willing substitute at a very small expense.

The lower races have no idea of Creation, and even among those somewhat more advanced it is at first very incomplete. Their deities are part of, not the makers of, the world; and even when the idea of creation dawns upon the mind, it is not strictly a creation, but merely the raising of land already existing at the bottom of the original sea.

The Abipones had no theory on the subject; when

[1] Oldfield, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N. S., vol. iii. p. 287.

[2] Wuttke, Ges. der Mensch., vol. i. p. 107.

[3] Burton's Dahome, vol. ii. p. 25.

[4] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. ii. p. 68.

questioned by Dobritzhoffer,[1] 'My father,' replied Yehoalay readily and frankly, 'our grandfathers, and 'great-grandfathers, were wont to contemplate the 'earth alone, solicitous only to see whether the plain 'afforded grass and water for their horses. They 'never troubled themselves about what went on in the 'heavens, and who was the creator and governor of 'the stars.'

Father Baegert,[2] in his account of the Californian Indians, says, 'I often asked them whether they had 'never put to themselves the question who might be 'the Creator and Preserver of the sun, moon, stars, and 'other objects of nature, but was always sent home with 'a "vara," which means "no" in their language.'

The Chipewyans[3] thought that the world existed at first in the form of a globe of water, out of which the Great Spirit raised the land. The Lenni Lenape[4] say that Manitu at the beginning swam on the water, and made the earth out of a grain of sand. He then made a man and woman out of a tree. The Mingos and Ottawwaws believe that a rat brought up a grain of sand from the bottom of the water, and thus produced the land. The Crees[5] had no ideas at all as to the origin of the world.

Stuhr, who was, as Müller says, a good observer of such matters, tells us that the Siberians had no idea of a Creator. When Burchell suggested the idea of creation to the Bachapin Kaffirs, they 'asserted that every-'thing made itself, and that trees and herbage grew by

[1] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 59.
[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 390.
[3] Dunn's Oregon, p. 102.
[4] Müller, Ges. d. Amer. Urr. p. 107.
[5] Franklin's Journey to the Polar Sea, vol. i. p. 143.

'their own will.'[1] It also appears from Canon Callaway's researches that the Zulu Kaffirs have no notion of creation. Casalis makes the same statement: all the natives, he says, 'whom we questioned on the 'subject have assured us that it never entered their 'heads that the earth and sky might be the work of an 'Invisible Being.'[2] The same is also the case with the Hottentots.

The Australians, again, had no idea of creation. According to Polynesian mythology, heaven and earth existed from the beginning.[3] The latter, however, was at first covered by water, until Mawe drew up New Zealand by means of an enchanted fish-hook.[4] This fish-hook was made from the jaw-bone of Muri-rangawhenna, and is now the cape forming the southern extremity of Hawkes' Bay. The Tongans,[5] Samoans,[6] and Hervey Islanders[7] have a very similar tale. Here the islands were drawn up by Tangaloa, 'but the line 'accidentally breaking, the act was incomplete, and 'matters were left as they now are. They show a hole 'in the rock, about two feet in diameter, which quite 'perforates it, and in which Tangaloa's hook got fixed. 'It is, moreover, said that Tooitonga had, till within a 'few years, this very hook in his possession.'

As regards Tahiti, Williams[8] observes that the 'origin of the gods, and their priority of existence in 'comparison with the formation of the earth, being a

[1] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 550.

[2] The Basutos, p. 238.

[3] Polynesian Mythology, p. 1. Gill, Myths of the South Pacific, p. 20. Shortland, *loc. cit.* p. 35.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 45.

[5] Mariner, *loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 284.

[6] Hale, U. S. Expl. Exp., p. 25.

[7] Gill, Myths of the S. Pacific, p. 73.

[8] Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 191.

'matter of uncertainty even among the native priests, 'involves the whole in the greatest obscurity.' Even in Sanskrit there is no word for creation, nor does any such idea appear in the Rigveda, in the Zendavesta, or in Homer.

When the Capuchin missionary Merolla[1] asked the Queen of Singa, in Western Africa, who made the world, she, 'without the least hesitation, readily an-'swered, "My ancestors." "Then," replied the Capu-'chin, "does your Majesty enjoy the whole power of '"your ancestors?" "Yes," answered she, "and '"much more, for over and above what they had, I am '"absolute mistress of the kingdom of Matamba!" A 'remark which shows how little she realised the mean-'ing of the term "Creation."' The negroes in Guinea thought that man was created by a great black spider.[2] The Bongos of Soudan 'have no conception of there 'being a Creator.'[3] Other negroes, however, have more just ideas on the subject, probably derived from the missionaries.

The Kumis of Chittagong believe that a certain Deity made the world and the trees and the creeping things, and lastly 'he set to work to make one man and 'one woman, forming their bodies of clay; but each 'night, on the completion of his work, there came a 'great snake which, while God was sleeping, devoured 'the two images.'[4] At length the Deity created a dog which drove away the snake, and thus the creation of man was accomplished.

[1] Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. xvi. p. 305.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 459.

[3] Heart of Africa, vol. ii. p. 306.

[4] Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 90.

We cannot fail also to be struck with the fact that the lower forms of religion are almost independent of Prayer. To us prayer seems almost a necessary part of religion. But it evidently involves a belief in the goodness of God, a truth which, as we have seen, is not early recognised.

Mr. Man, while maintaining that the Andaman Islanders believed in the existence of Spirits, admits that they did not worship or pray to them.[1]

Of the Hottentots Kolben says, 'It is most certain 'they neither pray to any one of their deities nor utter 'a word to any mortal concerning the condition of their 'souls or a future life.' . . . Even those negroes, says Bosman, who have a faint conception of a higher Deity, 'do not pray to him, or offer any sacrifices to 'him, for which they give the following reasons :— '"God," say they, "is too high exalted above us, and '"too great to condescend so much as to trouble him- '"self, or think of mankind."'[2]

The Mandingoes, according to Park, regard the Deity as 'so remote, and of so exalted a nature, that it 'is idle to imagine the feeble supplications of wretched 'mortals can reverse the decrees, and change the pur- 'poses, of unerring Wisdom.'[3] They seem, however, to have little confidence in their own views, and generally assured Park, in answer to his enquiries about religion and the immortality of the soul, that 'no man knows 'anything about it.' 'The uncontaminated African,' says Livingstone, believes that the Great Spirit lives above the stars, 'but they never pray to him.'[4]

[1] Man, Jour. Anthr. Inst., 1882.
[2] Bosman, *loc. cit.* p. 493.
[3] Park's Travels, vol. i. p. 267.
[4] Zambesi. p. 147.

'Neither among the Eskimos nor Tinne,' says Richardson, 'could I ascertain that prayer was ever made to 'the "*Kitche Manito*," the Great Spirit or "Master of '"Life."'[1] Dr. Prescott, in Schoolcraft's 'Indian 'Tribes,' also states that the North American Indians do not pray to the Great Spirit.[2] The Caribs consider that the Good Spirit 'is endued with so great goodness 'that it does not take any revenge even of its enemies; 'whence it comes that they render it neither honour 'nor adoration.'[3]

The Karens are said to believe in a supreme God, but they worship him not with prayer or praise, or any kind of service.[4]

According to Metz, the Todas (Neilgherry Hills) never pray. Even among the priests, he says, 'the 'only sign of adoration that I have ever seen them 'perform is lifting the right hand to the forehead, 'covering the nose with the thumb, when entering the 'sacred dairy: and the words, "May all be well!" are 'all that I have ever heard them utter in the form of a 'prayer.'[5] Marshall, however, gives a different account. According to him,[6] the Todas do pray and their prayers are of the most matter-of-fact description. Every man, as he enters his hut at night, turns round and mutters to himself, 'May it be well with the male children, the 'men, the cows, the female calves, and everything;' in which latter expression the women and female children

[1] Richardson's Boat Journey, vol. i. p. 44.

[2] Prescott, Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. iii. p. 226.

[3] Tertre's History of the Caribby Islands, p. 278.

[4] M'Mahon, The Karens of the Gold. Chersonese, p. 91.

[5] Tribes of the Neilgherries, p. 27.

[6] Marshall's Todas, p. 71.

must be included, if they are included at all. The material character of their religious views is amusingly indicated by the remark of a Toda with reference to the 'Pekkans,' which is the poorest of the Toda clans, and has no holy place: 'Aha,' he said, they are poor, 'they do not want a god.'

A very different objection to prayer (in the sense of a request for material benefits) was expressed by Tomochichi, the Chief of the Yamacraws (North America), to General Oglethorpe:[1] 'that the asking for any par-'ticular blessing looked to him like directing God; and, 'if so, that it must be a very wicked thing. That 'for his part he thought everything that happened in 'the world was as it should be; that God of him-'self would do for everyone what was consistent 'with the good of the whole; and that our duty to 'him was to be content with whatever happened in 'general, and thankful for all the good that happened 'in particular.'

The connection between morality and religion will be considered in a later chapter. Here, I will only observe that the deities of the lower races, being subject to the same passions as man, and in many cases, indeed, themselves monsters of iniquity, regarded crime with indifference, so long as the religious ceremonies and sacrifices in their honour were not neglected. Hence it follows that through all these lower races there is no idea of any Being corresponding to Satan. So far, indeed, as their deities are evil they may be so called; but the essential character of Satan is that of the Tempter; hence in the order of succession this idea

[1] Jones, Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 421.

cannot arise until morality has become connected with religion.

It is impossible to imagine a greater contrast than that presented by Christianity and Buddhism, which, in spite of some remarkable outward resemblances to Roman Catholicism, differs most essentially in its tenets, teaching that every virtuous act is infallibly rewarded; every sin inevitably punished, and being, as Col. Tallboys Wheeler says, 'a religion without Gods, without Priests 'properly so called, and without sacrifices, penances, 'or supplications to Deity.'[1]

Thus, then, I have endeavoured to trace the gradual development of religion among the lower races of man.

The lower savages regard their deities as scarcely more powerful than themselves; they are evil, not good; they are to be propitiated by sacrifices, not by prayer; they are not creators; they are neither omniscient nor all-powerful; they neither reward the good nor punish the evil; far from conferring immortality on man, they are not even in all cases immortal themselves.

Where the material elements of civilisation developed themselves without any corresponding increase of knowledge, as, for instance, in Mexico and Peru, a more correct idea of Divine power, without any corresponding enlightenment as to the Divine nature, led to a religion of terror, which finally became a terrible scourge of humanity.

Gradually, however, an increased acquaintance with the laws of nature enlarged the mind of man. He first supposed that the Deity fashioned the earth, raising it

[1] Wheeler, Hist. of India, vol. iii. p. 97.

out of the water, and preparing it as a dwelling-place for man, and subsequently realised the idea that land and water were alike created by Divine power. After regarding spirits as altogether evil, he rose to a belief in good as well as in evil deities, and, gradually subordinating the latter to the former, worshipped the good spirits alone as gods, the evil sinking to the level of demons. From believing only in ghosts, he came gradually to the recognition of the soul : at length uniting this belief with that in a beneficent and just Being, he connected Morality with Religion ; a step the importance of which it is scarcely possible to overestimate.

Thus we see that as men rise in civilisation, their religion rises with them. The Australians dimly imagine a being, spiteful, malevolent, but weak, and dangerous only in the dark. The Negro's deity is more powerful, but not less hateful—invisible, indeed, but subject to pain, mortal like himself, and liable to be made the slave of man by enchantment. The deities of the South Sea Islanders are, some good, some evil ; but, on the whole, more is to be feared from the latter than to be hoped from the former. They fashioned the land, but are not truly creators, for earth and water existed before them. They do not punish the evil, nor reward the good. They watch over the affairs of men ; but if, on the one hand, witchcraft has no power over them, neither, on the other, can prayer influence them—they require to share the crops or the booty of their worshippers.

It appears, then, that every increase in science—that is, in positive and ascertained knowledge—brings

with it an elevation of religion. Nor is this progress confined to the lower races. Even within the last century, science has purified the religion of Western Europe by rooting out the dark belief in witchcraft, which led to thousands of executions, and hung like a black pall over the Christianity of the middle ages.

The immense service which Science has thus rendered to the cause of Religion and of Humanity, has not hitherto received the recognition which it deserves. Science is still regarded by many excellent, but narrow-minded, persons as hostile to religious truth, while in fact she is only opposed to religious error. No doubt her influence has always been exercised in opposition to those who present contradictory assertions under the excuse of mystery, as well as to all but the highest conceptions of Divine power. The time, however, is approaching when it will be generally perceived that, so far from Science being opposed to Religion, true Religion is, without Science, impossible ; and if we consider the various aspects of Christianity as understood by different nations, we can hardly fail to see that the dignity, and therefore the truth, of their religious beliefs, is in direct relation to their knowledge of Science and of the great physical laws by which our universe is governed.

CHAPTER IX.

CHARACTER AND MORALS.

THE accounts which we possess of the character of savage races are conflicting and unsatisfactory. In some cases travellers have expressed strong opinions, for which they had obviously no sufficient foundation. Thus the unfortunate La Pérouse, who spent only one day on Easter Island, states his belief that the inhabitants 'are as corrupt as the circum-'stances in which they are placed will permit them to 'be.'[1] On the other hand, the Friendly Islanders were so called by Captain Cook on account of the apparent kindness and hospitality with which they received him. Yet, as we now know, this appearance of friendship was entirely hypocritical. The natives endeavoured to lull him into security, with the intention of seizing his ship and massacring the crew; which design a fortunate accident alone prevented them from carrying into effect; yet Captain Cook never had the slightest suspicion of their treachery, or of the danger which he so narrowly escaped.

In some cases the same writer gives accounts totally at variance with one another. Thus Mr. Ellis,[2] the ex-

[1] La Pérouse's Voyage, English edition, vol. ii. p. 327.

[2] Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 25.

cellent missionary of the Pacific, states that the moral character of the Tahitians was 'awfully dark, and 'notwithstanding the apparent mildness of their dispo-'sition, and the cheerful vivacity of their conversation, 'no portion of the human race was ever, perhaps, sunk 'lower in brutal licentiousness and moral degradation.' Yet, speaking of this same people, and in the very same volume, he tells us that they were most anxious to obtain bibles; on the day when they were to be distributed the natives came from considerable distances, and 'the place was actually thronged until the copies were 'expended. In their application at our own houses we 'found it impossible to restrain the people, so great was 'their anxiety.' Under these circumstances we cannot wonder that Captain Cook and other navigators found in them much to admire as well as to condemn.

The Kalmucks, again, have been very differently described by different travellers. Pallas, speaking of their characters, says, 'Il m'a paru infiniment meilleur que 'ne l'ont dépeint plusieurs de nos historiens voyageurs.'[1]

So also the aboriginal tribes of India, as pointed out by Mr. Hunter,[2] have been painted in the blackest colours by some, and highly praised by others.

Mariner gives an excellent account of the state of manners among the Tongans, and one which well illustrates the difficulty of arriving at correct ideas on such a subject, especially among a people of a different race from ourselves and in a different state of civilisation. He describes them as loyal[3] and pious,[4] obedient

[1] Voyages, vol. i. p. 499.

[2] Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia, pp. 5, 9.

[3] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 155.

[4] P. 154.

children,[1] affectionate parents,[2] kind husbands,[3] modest and faithful wives,[4] and true friends.[5]

On the other hand, they seem to have had little feeling of morality. They 'had no words for justice or 'injustice, for cruelty or humanity.'[6] 'Theft, revenge, 'rape, and murder under many circumstances are not 'held to be crimes.' They had no idea of future rewards and punishments. They saw no harm in seizing ships by treachery and murdering the crews. The men were cruel, treacherous, and revengeful. Marriages were terminable at the whim of the husband,[7] and, excepting in married women, chastity was not regarded as a virtue, though it was thought improper for a woman frequently to change her lover. Yet we are told that, on the whole,[8] this system, although so opposed to our feelings, had 'not the least appearance of any bad effect. 'The women were tender, kind mothers, the children 'well cared for.' Both sexes appeared to be contented and happy in their relations to each other, and 'as to 'domestic quarrels, they were seldom known.' We must not judge them too hardly for their proposed treachery to Captain Cook. Even in Northern Europe shipwrecks were long considered fair spoil, the strangers being connected with the natives by no civil or family ties, and the idea of natural right not being highly developed.[9] With some seafaring peoples it even seemed to be impious and wrong to succour those whom the gods of the waters had endeavoured to destroy.

[1] P. 155.
[2] P. 179.
[3] P. 179.
[4] P. 170.
[5] P. 152.
[6] P. 148.
[7] P. 167.
[8] P. 177.
[9] See Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, vol. ii. p. 199.

Lastly, if, in addition to the other sources of difficulty, we remember that of language, we cannot wonder that the characters of savage races have been so differently described by different travellers. We all know how difficult it is to judge an individual, and it must be much more so to judge a nation. In fact, whether any given writer praises or blames a particular race, depends at least as much on his own character as on that of the people.

On the whole, however, I think we may assume that life and property are far less secure in savage than in civilised communities; and though the guilt of a murder or a theft may be very different under different circumstances, to the sufferer the result is much the same.

Mr. Galbraith, who lived for many years, as Indian agent, among the Sioux (North America), thus describes them:[1] They are 'bigoted, barbarous, and exceedingly 'superstitious. They regard most of the vices as 'virtues. Theft, arson, rape, and murder are among 'them regarded as the means of distinction; and the 'young Indian from childhood is taught to regard 'killing as the highest of virtues. In their dances, and 'at their feasts, the warriors recite their deeds of theft, 'pillage, and slaughter as precious things; and the 'highest, indeed the only, ambition of a young brave is 'to secure "the feather," which is but a record of his 'having murdered or participated in the murder of 'some human being—whether man, woman, or child, 'it is immaterial; and, after he has secured his first '"feather," appetite is whetted to increase the number

[1] Ethn. Journal, 1869, p. 304.

'in his cap, as an Indian brave is estimated by the 'number of his feathers.'

In Tahiti the missionaries considered that 'not less 'than two-thirds of the children were murdered by their 'parents.'[1] Mr. Ellis adds, 'I do not recollect having 'met with a female in the islands during the whole 'period of my residence there, who had been a mother 'while idolatry prevailed, who had not imbrued her 'hands in the blood of her offspring.' Mr. Nott also makes the same assertion. Girls were more often killed than boys, because they were of less use in fishing and in war.

Mr. Wallace maintains that savages act up to their simple moral code at least as well as we do; but if a man's simple moral code permits him to rob or murder, that may be some excuse for him, but it is little consolation to the sufferer.

As a philosophical question, however, the relative character of different races is less interesting than the moral condition of the lower races of mankind as a whole.

Mr. Wallace, in the concluding chapter of his interesting work on the Malay Archipelago, has expressed the opinion that while civilised communities 'have 'progressed vastly beyond the savage state in intel-'lectual achievements, we have not advanced equally in 'morals.' Nay, he even goes further: in a perfect social state, he says, 'every man would have a sufficiently 'well balanced intellectual organisation to understand 'the moral law in all its details, and would require no 'other motive but the free impulses of his own nature

[1] Polynesian Researches, vol. i. pp. 334, 340.

'to obey that law. Now, it is very remarkable that 'among people in a very low state of civilisation, we 'find some approach to such a perfect social state;' and he adds, 'it is not too much to say that the mass of 'our populations have not at all advanced beyond the 'savage code of morals, and have in many cases sunk 'below it.'

Far from thinking this true, I should rather be disposed to say that Man has, perhaps, made more progress in moral than in either material or intellectual advancement; for while even the lowest savages have many material and intellectual attainments, they are, it seems to me, almost entirely wanting in moral feeling; though I am aware that the contrary opinion has been expressed by many eminent authorities.

Thus Lord Kames[1] assumes as an undoubted fact 'that every individual is endued with a sense of right 'and wrong, more or less distinct;' and after admitting that very different views as to morals are held by different people and different races, he remarks, 'these 'facts tend not to disprove the reality of a common 'sense in morals; they only prove that the moral sense 'has not been equally perfect at all times, nor in all 'countries.'

Hume expresses the same opinion in very decided language. 'Let a man's insensibility,' he says, 'be ever 'so great, he must often be touched with the images of 'right and wrong; and let his prejudices be ever so 'obstinate he must observe that others are susceptible 'of like impressions.'[2] Nay, he even maintains that

[1] History of Man, vol. ii. p. 9; vol. iv. p. 18.
[2] Hume's Essays, vol. ii. p. 203.

'those who have denied the reality of moral distinctions 'may be ranked among the disingenuous disputants; 'nor is it conceivable that any human creature could 'ever seriously believe that all characters and actions 'were alike entitled to the affection and regard of every 'one.'

Locke, on the other hand, questions the existence of innate principles, and terminates his chapter on the subject in the following words: 'It is reasonable,' he says,[1] 'to demand the marks and characters, whereby 'the genuine innate principles may be distinguished 'from others; and so, amidst the great variety of pre-'tenders I may be kept from mistakes in so material 'a point as this. When this is done I shall be ready 'to embrace such welcome and useful propositions; 'and till then I may with modesty doubt, since I fear 'universal consent, which is the only one produced 'will scarce prove a sufficient mark to direct my choice, 'and assure me of any innate principles. From what 'has been said, I think it past doubt that there are no 'practical principles wherein all men agree; and there-'fore none innate.'

Let us now see what light is thrown on this interesting question by the study of savage life. Mr. Wallace draws a charming picture of some small savage communities which he has visited. Each man, he says, 'scrupulously respects the rights of his fellow, and any 'infraction of those rights rarely or never takes place. 'In such a community all are nearly equal. There are 'none of those wide distinctions of education and igno-'rance, wealth and poverty, master and servant, which

[1] On the Human Understanding, book i. ch. 3, sec. 2.

'are the product of our civilisation: there is none of 'that widespread division of labour, which while it in-'creases wealth, produces also conflicting interests; there 'is not that severe competition and struggle for existence, 'or for wealth, which the population of civilised countries 'inevitably creates.'

But does this prove that they are in a high moral condition? Does it prove even that they have any moral sense at all? Surely not. For if it does, we must equally credit rooks and bees, and most other gregarious animals, with a moral state higher than that of civilised man. I would not indeed venture to assert that the ant or the bee is not possessed of moral feelings, but we are surely not in a position to affirm it. In the very passage quoted, Mr. Wallace has pointed out that the inducements to crime are in small communities much less than in populous countries. The absence of crime, however, does not constitute virtue; and, without temptation, mere innocence has no merit.

Moreover, in small communities almost all the members are related to one another, and family affection puts on the appearance of virtue. But though parental and filial affection possess a very moral aspect, they have a totally different origin and a distinct character. To do a thing which is right is by no means the same as to do it because it is right.

We do not generally attribute moral feelings to quadrupeds and birds, yet perhaps among animals there is no stronger feeling than that of the mother for her offspring. She will submit to any sacrifices for their welfare, and fight against almost any odds for

their protection. No follower of Mr. Darwin will be surprised at this, because for generation after generation those mothers in whom this feeling was most strong have had the best chance of rearing their young. It is not, however, moral feeling in the strict sense of the term ; and she would, indeed, be a cold-hearted mother who cherished and protected her infant only because it was right to do so.

Family affection and moral feeling have, indeed, been very generally confused together by travellers, yet there is some direct testimony which appears to show that the moral condition of savages is really much lower than has been usually supposed.

Thus Mr. Dove, speaking of the Tasmanians, asserts that they were entirely 'without any moral views and 'impressions.'

Governor Eyre says of the Australians that, 'having 'no moral sense of what is just and equitable in the 'abstract, their only test of propriety must in such 'cases be, whether they are numerically or physically 'strong enough to brave the vengeance of those whom 'they may have provoked or injured.'[1] Mr. Ridley tells us[2] that he had very great difficulty in conveying to the nations of Australia any idea of sin, and eventually he could only describe it by the following roundabout expression : 'Nyeane kauungo warawara 'yanani.'

'Conscience,' says Burton, 'does not exist in Eastern 'Africa, and "repentance" expresses regret for missed 'opportunities of mortal crime. Robbery constitutes

[1] Discoveries in Central Australia, vol. ii. p. 384.
[2] Queensland, p. 442.

'an honourable man; murder—the more atrocious the 'midnight crime the better—makes the hero.'[1]

The Yoruba negroes, on the West Coast of Africa, according to the same author,[2] 'are covetous, cruel, and 'wholly deficient in what the civilised man calls con-'science;' though it is right to add that some of his other statements with reference to this tribe seem opposed to this view.

Mr. Neighbors states that among the Comanches of Texas 'no individual action is considered a crime, but 'every man acts for himself according to his own judg-'ment, unless some superior power—for instance, that 'of a popular chief—should exercise authority over him. 'They believe that when they were created the Great 'Spirit gave them the privilege of a free and uncon-'strained use of their individual faculties.'[3]

The Kacharis, according to Dalton, had 'in their 'own language no words for sin, for piety, for prayer, 'for repentance.'[4]

The Damaras 'seem to have no perceptible notion 'of right or wrong.'[5] Speaking of the Kaffirs, Mr. Casalis, who lived for twenty-three years in South Africa, says[6] that 'morality among these people depends 'so entirely upon social order that all political disor-'ganisation is immediately followed by a state of de-'generacy, which the re-establishment of order alone 'can rectify.' Thus, then, although their language contained words signifying most of the virtues, as well

[1] Burton's First Footsteps in East Africa, p. 176.

[2] Abeokuta, vol. i. p. 303. See also vol. ii. p. 218.

[3] Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. ii. p. 131.

[4] Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 85.

[5] Galton, *loc. cit.* p. 72.

[6] The Basutos, p. 300.

as the vices, it would appear from the above passages that their moral quality was not clearly recognised. It must be confessed, however, that the evidence is not very conclusive, as Mr. Casalis, even in the same chapter, expresses an opinion on the point scarcely consistent with that quoted above.

Similar accounts are given as regards Central Africa. Thus at Jenna,[1] and in the surrounding districts, 'whenever a town is deprived of its chief, the inhabitants 'acknowledge no law—anarchy, troubles, and confusion 'immediately prevail, and till a successor is appointed 'all labour is at an end. The stronger oppress the 'weak, and consummate every species of crime, without being amenable to any tribunal for their actions. 'Private property is no longer respected; and thus, 'before a person arrives to curb its licentiousness, a 'town is not unfrequently reduced from a flourishing 'state of prosperity and of happiness to all the horrors 'of desolation.' Livingstone mentions[2] a similar custom among the Banyai, a tribe living on the river Zambesi; and the same state of things also occurred in the Sandwich Islands.[3]

The Tongans, or Friendly Islanders, had in many respects made great advances, yet Mariner[4] states that, 'on a strict examination of their language, we discover 'no words essentially expressive of some of the higher 'qualities of human merit: as virtue, justice, humanity; 'nor of the contrary: as vice, injustice, cruelty, &c. 'They have, indeed, expressions for these ideas, but

[1] R. and J. Lander's Niger Expedition, vol. i. p. 96. Bosman, *loc. cit.* p. 345. Dalzel, *loc. cit.* pp. 6, 7, 151.

[2] Travels in South Africa, p. 624.

[3] Gerland. Waitz's Anthr., vol. vi. p. 203.

[4] Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 147.

'they are equally applicable to other things. To ex-'press a virtuous or good man, they would say '"tangata lillé," a good man, or "tangata loto lillé," a 'man with a good mind; but the word lillé, good (un-'like our virtuous), is equally applicable to an axe, 'canoe, or anything else; again, they have no word to 'express humanity, mercy, &c., but afa, which rather 'means friendship, and is a word of cordial salutation.'

Mr. Campbell observes that the Soors (one of the aboriginal tribes of India), 'while described as small, 'mean, and very black, and like the Santals naturally 'harmless, peaceable, and industrious, are also said to 'be without moral sense.'[1] 'The Redskin,' says Col. Dodge, 'has no moral sense whatever.'[2]

The South American Indians of the Gran Chaco are said by the missionaries to 'make no distinction be-'tween right and wrong, and have therefore neither 'fear nor hope of any present or future punishment or 'reward, nor any mysterious terror of some super-'natural power, whom they might seek to assuage by 'sacrifices or superstitious rites.'[3]

Indeed, I do not remember a single instance in which a savage is recorded as having shown any symptoms of remorse; and almost the only case I can call to mind, in which a man belonging to one of the lower races has accounted for an act, by saying explicitly that it was right, was when Mr. Hunt asked a young Fijian why he had killed his mother.[4]

[1] G. Campbell, The Ethnology of India, p. 37.

[2] Hunting Grounds of the Great West, p. 273.

[3] The Voice of Pity, vol. xi. p. 220.

[4] Wilkes' Voyage, p. 95.

The evidence afforded by language is very suggestive. The words indicating good and evil and the different virtues, had, even in our own case, originally no moral signification. They are metaphors, sometimes, indeed, rather far-fetched. This seems to show that language is older than morality, for if the ideas of good and evil, right and wrong, had been themselves innate, surely we should have had original words for them.

It is clear that religion, except in the more advanced races, has no moral aspect or influence. The deities are almost invariably regarded as evil.

In Fiji[1] 'the names of the gods indicate their 'characters. Thus, as Williams tells us, Ndauthina 'steals women of rank and beauty by night or torch-'light. Kumbunavanua is the rioter; Mbatimona, the 'brain eater; Ravuravu, the murderer; Mainatavasara, 'fresh from the cutting-up or slaughter; and a host 'besides of the same sort.'

In Peru 'every vice had its own especial deity.'[2]

The character of the Greek gods is familiar to us, and was anything but moral. Such beings would not necessarily reward the good, or punish the evil. Hence it is not surprising that Socrates saw little connection between ethics and religion, or that Aristotle altogether separated morality from theology. Hence also we cannot be surprised to find that, even when a belief in a future state has dawned on the civilised mind, it is not at first associated with reward or punishment.

The Australians, though they had a vague belief in ghosts, and supposed that after death they become

[1] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 218.

[2] Garcilasso de la Vega, vol. i. p. 124.

whitemen ; that, as they say, 'Fall down blackman, 'jump up whiteman ;' have no idea of retribution.[1] The Guinea negroes 'have no idea of future rewards or 'punishments for the good or ill actions of their past 'life.'[2] Other negro races, however, have more advanced ideas on the subject.

'The Tahitians believe in the immortality of the 'soul, at least its existence in a separate state, and that 'there are two situations of different degrees of happi-'ness, somewhat analogous to our heaven and hell: the 'superior situation they call "Tavirua l'erai," the other '"Tiahoboo." They do not, however, consider them 'as places of reward and punishment, but as receptacles 'for different classes ; the first for their chiefs and 'principal people, the other for those of inferior rank ; 'for they do not suppose that their actions here in the 'least influence their future state, or, indeed, that they 'come under the cognisance of their deities at all.'[3] In Tonga and at Nukahiva the natives believe that their chiefs are immortal, but not the common people.[4] The Tonga people, says Mariner, 'do not, indeed, 'believe in any future state of rewards and punish-'ments.'[5]

Williams[6] tells us that 'offences, in Fijian estima-'tion, are light or grave according to the rank of the 'offender. Murder by a chief is less heinous than a 'petty larceny committed by a man of low rank.

[1] Voyage of the 'Fly,' vol. ii. p. 22.

[2] Bosman, *loc. cit.* p. 401.

[3] See Cook's Voyage round the World in ,Hawkesworth's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 239.

[4] Klemm, vol. iv. p. 351.

[5] Tonga Islands, vol. ii. p. 147. Hale, U. S. Expl. Exp., p. 38.

[6] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 28.

'Only a few crimes are regarded as serious; e.g. theft, 'adultery, abduction, witchcraft, infringement of a 'tabu, disrespect to a chief, incendiarism, and treason;' and he elsewhere mentions that the Fijians,[1] though believing in a future existence, 'shut out from it the 'idea of any moral retribution in the shape either of 'reward or punishment.' In the religion of the Fijians, says Seemann, 'there does not seem to be any 'separation between the abodes of the good and the 'wicked, nothing that corresponds to our heaven and 'hell.'[2] The Sumatrans, according to Marsden, 'had 'some idea of a future life, but not as a state of retribu-'tion; conceiving immortality to be the lot of a rich 'rather than of a good man. I recollect that an 'inhabitant of one of the islands farther eastwards 'observed to me, with great simplicity, that only great 'men went to the skies; how should poor men find 'admittance there?'[3]

In the Island of Bintang,[4] 'the people always con-'ceived present possession to constitute right, however 'that possession might have been acquired; but yet 'they made no scruple of deposing and murdering their 'sovereigns, and justified their acts by this argument: 'that the fate of concerns so important as the lives of 'kings was in the hands of God, whose vicegerents they 'were, and that if it was not agreeable to him, and the 'consequence of his will, that they should perish by 'the daggers of their subjects, it could not so happen.'

[1] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 243.

[2] Seemann's Mission to Viti, p. 400.

[3] Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 289.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 412.

The Veddahs of Ceylon had no idea of future rewards or punishments.[1]

The Kookies of Chittagong 'have no idea of hell or 'heaven, or of any punishment for evil deeds, or rewards 'for good actions.'[2] Forsyth also makes a similar statement as regards the Gónds.[3] According to Bailey, again, the Veddahs of Ceylon 'have no idea of a future 'state of rewards and punishments.'[4] The Hos in Central India 'believe that the souls of the dead 'become "bhoots," spirits, but no thought of reward or 'punishment is connected with the change.'[5]

Speaking of South Africa, Kolben[6] says, 'that the 'Hottentots believe in the immortality of the soul 'has been shown in a foregoing chapter. But they 'have no notion, that ever I could gather, of rewards 'and punishments after death.' Chief Commissioner Warner remarks that the Kaffirs have 'not the slightest 'knowledge of a future state of rewards and punish-'ments arising out of the moral quality of our actions 'in this life.'[7]

In Dahome, according to Burton,[8] the 'next world 'offers none of those rewards and punishments by 'which, according to the Semitic animist, the balance 'of good and evil in this life is to be struck. He who 'escapes punishment here is safe hereafter.'

[1] Bailey, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. ii. p. 300.

[2] Rennel, quoted in Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 110.

[3] Highlands of Central India, p. 145.

[4] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. ii. p. 300.

[5] Dalton, Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1868, p. 38.

[6] History of the Cape of Good Hope, vol. i. p. 314.

[7] Maclean's Compend. of Kaffir Laws and Customs, p. 78.

[8] Mission to Dahome, vol. ii. p. 157.

Among the Mexicans[1] and Peruvians,[2] again, the religion was entirely independent of moral considerations, and in some other parts of America the future condition is supposed to depend not on conduct but on rank.[3] In North America 'it is rare,' says Tanner, 'to 'observe among the Indians any ideas which would lead 'to the belief that they look upon a future state as one 'of retribution.'[4]

Among the Siberian tribes the deities are supposed to reward those who conciliate them by worship and offerings, but to morality they are regarded as indifferent.[5] In the great Chinese collection of poems 'there 'are rewards and dignity for the good after death, but 'nothing is said of any punishment for the bad.'[6] The Arabs and Afghans conceive that a broken oath brings misfortune on the place where it was uttered.[7]

Even among ourselves Emerson has pointed out that every word which we now use in a moral sense has originally a material signification. Right means straight, wrong twisted, &c.[8]

In fact, I believe that the lower races of men may be said to be deficient in the idea of Right, though quite familiar with that of Law. This leads to the curious, though not illogical, results mentioned in page 406.

That there should be any races of men so deficient

[1] Müller, Ges. der Amer. Urreligion, p. 565.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 410. But see Prescott, vol. i. p. 83.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 139. See also pp. 289, 565.

[4] Tanner's Narrative, p. 369.

[5] Müller, Des. de toutes les Nations de l'Empire de Russie, pt. iii. p. 146.

[6] The Sheking, translated by Mr. Legge, p. 48.

[7] Klemm, Culturgeschichte, vol. iv. p. 190. Masson, Journeys in Balochistan, &c., vol. ii. p. 258.

[8] Emerson's Nature, ch. iv.

in moral feeling, was altogether opposed to the preconceived ideas with which I commenced the study of savage life, and I have arrived at the conviction by slow degrees, and even with reluctance. I have, however, been forced to this conclusion, not only by the direct statements of travellers, but also by the general tenor of their remarks, and especially by the remarkable absence of repentance and remorse among the lower races of men.

On the whole, then, it appears to me that the moral feelings deepen with the gradual growth of a race.

External circumstances, no doubt, exercise much influence on character. We very often see, however, that the possession of one virtue is counterbalanced by some corresponding defect. Thus the North American Indians are brave and generous, but they are also cruel and reckless of life. Moreover, in the early stages of law, motive is never considered; a fact which shows how little hold morality has, even on communities which have made considerable progress. Some cases which have been quoted as illustrating the contrast between the ideas of virtue entertained by different races seem to prove the absence, rather than the perversity, of sentiment on the subject. I cannot believe, for instance, that theft and murder have ever been really regarded as virtues. In a barbarous state they were, no doubt, means of distinction, and in the absence of moral feelings were regarded with no reprobation. I cannot, however, suppose that they could be considered as 'right,' though they might give rise to a feeling of respect, and even of admiration. So also the Greeks regarded the duplicity of Ulysses as an

element in his greatness, but surely not as virtue in itself.

What, then, is the origin of moral feeling? Some regard it as intuitive, as an original instinct implanted in the human mind. Herbert Spencer,[1] on the contrary, maintains that 'moral intuitions are the results of accu-'mulated experiences of utility; gradually organised 'and inherited, they have come to be quite independent 'of conscious experience.'

I cannot entirely subscribe to either of these views. The moral feelings are now, no doubt, intuitive; but if the lower races of savages have none, they evidently cannot have been so originally, nor can they be regarded as natural to man. Neither can I accept the opposite theory. While entirely agreeing with Mr. Spencer that 'there have been, and still are, developing in the race, 'certain fundamental moral intuitions,' I feel, with Mr. Hutton, much difficulty in conceiving that, in Mr. Spencer's words, 'these moral intuitions are the results 'of the accumulated experiences of Utility;' that is to say, of Utility to the individual. When it is once realised that a given line of conduct would invariably be useful to the individual, it is at once regarded as 'saga-'cious' rather than 'virtuous.' Virtue implies temptation; temptation indicates a feeling that a given action may benefit the individual at the expense of others, or in defiance of authority. It is evident, indeed, that feelings acting on generation after generation might produce a continually deepening conviction, but I fail to perceive how this explains the difference between 'right' and 'utility.'

[1] Bain's Mental and Moral Science, p. 722.

Yet utility in one sense has, I think, been naturally and yet unconsciously selected as the basis of morals. Mr. Hutton, if I understand him correctly, doubts this. Honesty, for instance, he says,[1] 'must certainly have 'been associated by our ancestors with many unhappy 'as well as many happy consequences, and we know 'that in ancient Greece dishonesty was openly and 'actually associated with happy consequences, in the 'admiration for the guile and craft of Ulysses.'

This seems to me a good crucial case. Honesty, on their own part, may, indeed, have been, and no doubt was, 'associated by our ancestors with many unhappy 'as well as many happy consequences;' but honesty on the part of others could surely have nothing but happy results. Thus, while the perception that 'honesty is 'the best policy' was, no doubt, as Mr. Hutton observes, 'long subsequent to the most imperious enunciation of 'its sacredness as a duty,' honesty would be recognised as a virtue so soon as men perceive the sacredness of any duty. As soon as contracts were entered into between individuals or states it became manifestly the interest of each that the other should be honest. Any failure in this respect would naturally be condemned by the sufferer. It is precisely because honesty is sometimes associated with unhappy consequences, that it is regarded as a virtue. If it had always been directly advantageous to all parties, it would have been classed as useful, not as right; it would have lacked the essential element which entitles it to rank as a virtue.

Or take respect for Age. We find, even in Australia, laws, if I may so term them, appropriating the

[1] Macmillan's Magazine, 1869, p. 271.

best of everything to the old men. Naturally the old men lose no opportunity of impressing these injunctions on the young ; they praise those who conform and condemn those who resist. Hence the custom is strictly adhered to. I do not say, that to the Australian mind this presents itself as a sacred duty ; but it would, I think, in the course of time have come to be so considered.

For when a race had made some progress in intellectual development, a difference would certainly be felt between those acts which a man was taught to do as conducive to his own direct advantage, and those which were not so, and yet which were enjoined for any other reason. Hence would arise the idea of *right* and duty, as distinct from mere utility.

How much more our notions of right depend on the lessons we receive when young than on hereditary ideas, becomes evident, if we consider the different moral codes existing in our own country. Nay, even in the very same individual, two contradictory systems may often be seen side by side in incongruous association.

Lastly, it may be observed that in our own case religion and morality are closely connected together. Yet the sacred character, which forms an integral part in our conception of duty, could not arise until Religion became moral. Nor would this take place until the deities were conceived to be beneficent beings. As soon, however, as this was the case, they would naturally be supposed to regard with approbation all that tended to benefit their worshippers, and to condemn all actions of the opposite character. This step was an

immense benefit to mankind, since that dread of the unseen powers which had previously been wasted on the production of mere ceremonies and sacrifices, at once invested the moral feelings with a sacredness, and consequently with a force, which they had not until then possessed.

Authority, then, seems to me the origin, and utility, though not in the manner suggested by Mr. Spencer, the criterion, of virtue. Mr. Hutton, however, in the concluding paragraph of his interesting paper, urges that surely, if this were the case, by this time 'some *one* 'elementary moral law should be as deeply ingrained 'in human practice as the geometrical law that a 'straight line is the shortest way between two points.' I see no such necessity. A child whose parents belong to different nations, with different moral codes, would, I suppose, have the moral feeling deep, and yet might be without any settled ideas as to particular moral duties. And this is in reality our own case. Our ancestors have now for many generations had a feeling that some actions were right and some were wrong, but at different times they have had very different codes of morality. Hence we have a deeply-seated moral feeling, and yet, as anyone who has children may satisfy himself, no such decided moral code. Children have a deep feeling of right and wrong, but no such decided or intuitive conviction as to which actions are right and which are wrong.

CHAPTER X.

LANGUAGE.

ALTHOUGH it has been at various times stated that certain savage tribes are entirely without language, none of these accounts appear to be well authenticated, and they are *à priori* extremely improbable.

At any rate, even the lowest races of which we have any satisfactory account possess a language, imperfect though it may be, and eked out to a great extent by signs. I do not suppose, however, that this custom has arisen from the absence of words to represent their ideas, but rather because in all countries inhabited by savages the number of languages is very great, and hence there is a great advantage in being able to communicate by signs.

Thus James, in his expedition to the Rocky Mountains, speaking of the Kiawa-Kashaia Indians, says, 'These nations, although constantly associating toge-
'ther and united under the influence of the Bear-Tooth,
'are yet totally ignorant of each other's language, inso-
'much that it was no uncommon occurrence to see two
'individuals of different nations sitting upon the ground
'and conversing freely by means of the language of
'signs. In the art of thus conveying their ideas they
'were thorough adepts; and their manual display was

'only interrupted at remote intervals by a smile, or by 'the auxiliary of an articulated word of the language 'of the Crow Indians, which to a very limited extent 'passes current among them.'[1] Fisher,[2] also, speaking of the Comanches and various surrounding tribes, says that they have 'a language of signs by which 'all Indians and trades can understand one another; 'and they always make these signs when communicat- 'ing among themselves. The men, when conversing 'together, in their lodges, sit upon skins, cross-legged 'like a Turk, and speak and make signs in corrobora- 'tion of what they say, with their hands, so that either 'a blind or a deaf man could understand them. For 'instance, I meet an Indian, and wish to ask him if he 'saw six waggons drawn by horned cattle, with three 'Mexican and three American teamsters, and a man 'mounted on horseback. I make these signs:—I point '"you," then to his eyes, meaning "see;" then hold 'up all my fingers on the right hand and the forefinger 'on the left, meaning "six;" then I make two circles by 'bringing the ends of my thumbs and forefingers to- 'gether, and, holding my two hands out, move my 'wrists in such a way as to indicate waggon wheels 'revolving, meaning "waggons;" then, by making an 'upward motion with each hand from both sides of my 'head, I indicate "horns," signifying horned cattle; 'then by first holding up three fingers, and then by 'placing my extended right hand below my lower lip 'and moving it downward stopping in mid way down 'the chest, I indicate "beard," meaning Mexican; and

[1] See James, Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, vol. iii. p. 52.

[2] Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1869, vol. i. p. 283.

'with three fingers again, and passing my right hand 'from left to right in front of my forehead, I indicate '"white brow" or "pale face." I then hold up my 'forefinger, meaning one man, and by placing the fore-'finger of my left hand between the fore and second 'finger of my right hand, representing a man astride 'of a horse, and by moving my hands up and down, 'give the motion of a horse galloping with a man on 'his back. I in this way ask the Indian, "You see '"six waggons, horned cattle, three Mexicans, three '"Americans, one man on horseback?" If he holds 'up his forefinger and lowers it quickly, as if he was 'pointing at some object on the ground, he means '"Yes;" if he moves it from side to side, upon the 'principle that people sometimes move their head from 'side to side, he means "No." The time required to 'make these signs would be about the same as if you 'asked the question verbally.' The Bushmen also are said to intersperse their language with so many signs that they are unintelligible in the dark, and, when they want to converse at night are compelled to collect round their camp fires. So also Burton tells us that the Arapahos of North America, 'who possess a very 'scanty vocabulary, can hardly converse with one 'another in the dark; to make a stranger understand 'them they must always repair to the camp fire for 'pow-wow.'[1]

Morgan mentions a case in which a couple, who had been married three years, conversed entirely by signs; the man being a Blackfoot Indian, the woman an

[1] City of the Saints, p. 151.

Ahahnelin, and neither understanding a word of each other's language.[1]

A very interesting account of the sign-language, especially with reference to that used by the deaf and dumb, is contained in Tylor's 'Early History of Man.' But although signs may serve to convey ideas in a manner which would probably surprise those who have not studied this question; still it must be admitted that they are far inferior to the sounds of the voice; which, as already mentioned, are used for this purpose by all the races of men with whom we are acquainted.

Language, as it exists among all but the lowest races, although far from perfect, is yet so rich in terms, and possesses in its grammar so complex an organisation, that we cannot wonder at those who have attributed to it a divine and miraculous origin. Nay, their view may be admitted as correct, but only in that sense in which a ship or a palace may be so termed: they are human in so far as they have been worked out by man; divine, inasmuch as in doing so he has availed himself of the powers which Providence has given him.[2]

M. Renan[3] draws a distinction between the origin of words and that of language, and as regards the latter

[1] System of Consanguinity, p. 227.

[2] Lord Monboddo, in combating those who regard language as a revelation, expresses a hope that he will not, on that account, be supposed to 'pay no respect to the account 'given in our sacred books of the 'origin of our species; but it does not 'belong to me,' he adds, 'as a philo-'sopher or grammarian, to enquire 'whether such account is to be under-'stood allegorically, according to the 'opinions of some divines.' He forgets, however, that those who regard language as a miracle, do so in the teeth of the express statement in Genesis that God brought the animals 'unto Adam to see what he 'would call them: and whatsoever 'Adam called every living creature, 'that was the name thereof.'

[3] De l'Origine du Langage, p. 16.

says: 'Je persiste donc, après dix ans de nouvelles 'études, à envisager le langage comme formé d'un seul 'coup, et comme sorti instantanément du génie de 'chaque race.' a theory which involves that of the plurality of human species. No doubt the complexity and apparent perfection of the grammar among very low races, is at first sight very surprising; but we must remember that the language of children is more regular than ours. A child says, 'I goed,' 'I comed,' 'badder,' 'baddest,' &c. Moreover, the preservation of a complicated system of grammar among savage tribes shows that such a system is natural to them, and not merely a survival from more civilised times. Indeed, we know that the tendency of civilisation is towards the simplification of grammatical forms.

Nor must it by any means be supposed that complexity implies excellence, or even completeness, in a language. On the contrary, it often arises from a cumbersome mode of supplying some radical defect. Adam Smith long ago pointed out that the verb 'to be' is 'the most abstract and metaphysical of all verbs, and 'consequently could by no means be a word of early 'invention.' And he suggests that the absence of this verb probably led to the intricacy of conjugations. 'When,' he adds, 'it came to be invented, however, as 'it had all the tenses and modes of any other verb, by 'being joined with the passive participle, it was capable 'of supplying the place of the whole passive voice, and 'of rendering this part of their conjugations as simple 'and uniform, as the use of prepositions had rendered 'their declensions.'[1] He goes on to point out that the

[1] Smith's Moral Sentiments, vol. ii. p. 426.

same remarks apply also to the possessive verb 'I have,' which affected the active voice, as profoundly as 'I am' influenced the passive; thus, these two verbs between them, when once suggested, enabled mankind to relieve their memories, and thus unconsciously, but most effectually, to simplify their grammar.

In English we carry the same principle much further, and not only use the auxiliary verbs 'to have' and 'to be,' but also several others—as do, did; will, would; shall, should; can, could; may, might.[1] Adam Smith was, however, mistaken in supposing that the verb 'to be' exists 'in every language;'[2] on the contrary, the complexity of the North American languages is in a great measure due to its absence. The auxiliary verb 'to be' is entirely absent in most American languages, and the consequence is that they turn almost all their adjectives and nouns into verbs, and conjugate them, through all the tenses, persons, and moods.[3] According to Dobritzhoffer the Abipones and Guaranis also want the verb 'to have.' The Kaffir language also is stated by Lichtenstein to be deficient in auxiliary verbs. 'I am' cannot be expressed in their language.

Again, the Esquimaux, instead of using adverbs, conjugate the verb; they have special terminations implying ill, better, rarely, hardly, faithfully, &c.; hence such a word as aglekkigiartorasuarniarpok, 'he goes 'away hastily and exerts himself to write.'[4] Some at least of the Dravidian languages are also without

[1] Smith's Moral Sentiments, p. 432.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 426.

[3] See Gallatin, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., vol. ii. p. 176. Hale, U. S. Expl. Exp., p. 549.

[4] Crantz, His. of Greenland, vol. i. p. 224.

the verbs 'have,' 'be,' and also some Mantchou dialects.[1]

In other cases the grammatical forms are but few. The language of Akra and Fantee, according to Wultke,[2] possesses only six conjunctions, no adverbs or prepositions, only one sex, no comparative, and no passive mood; that of the Hottentots is said to have contained no auxiliary verbs.[3]

The Grebos, an African tribe, are said to mark persons and tenses by gestures.[4]

The number of words in the languages of civilised races is no doubt immense. Chinese, for instance, contains 40,000; Todd's edition of Johnson, 58,000; Webster's Dictionary, 70,000; and Flügel's German dictionary more than 65,000.[5] The great majority of these, however, can be derived from certain original words, or roots which are very few in number. In Chinese there are about 450, Hebrew has been reduced to 500, and Müller doubts whether there are more in Sanskrit. M. D'Orsey even assures us that an ordinary agricultural labourer has not 300 words in his vocabulary.

Professor Max Müller[6] observes, that 'this fact 'simplifies immensely the problem of the origin of 'language. It has taken away all excuse for those 'rapturous descriptions of language which invariably 'preceded the argument that language must have a 'divine origin. We shall hear no more of that wonder-

[1] Hovelacque, La Linguistique, pp. 119, 137.

[2] Ges. der Menschheit, vol. i. p. 158

[3] Lichtenstein, Travels in South Africa, vol. ii. p. 371.

[4] Sci. of L., vol. i. p. 62.

[5] Saturday Review, November 2, 1861. Lectures on Language, p. 268.

[6] *Loc. cit.* p. 359.

'ful instrument which can express all we see, and hear, 'and taste, and touch, and smell; which is the breath-'ing image of the whole world; which gives form to 'the airy feelings of our souls, and body to the loftiest 'dreams of our imagination; which can arrange in 'accurate perspective the past, the present, and the 'future, and throw over everything the varying hues 'of certainty, of doubt, of contingency.'

This, indeed, is no new view, but was that generally adopted by the philologists of the last century, and is fully borne out by more recent researches.

In considering the origin of these root-words, we must remember that most of them are very ancient, and much worn by use. This greatly enhances the difficulty of the problem.

Nevertheless, there are several large classes of words with reference to the origin of which there can be no doubt. Many names of animals, such as cuckoo, crow, peewit, &c., are evidently derived from the sounds made by those birds. Everyone admits that such words as bang, crack, creak, crush, crash, splash, dash, purr, whizz, hum, &c., have arisen from the attempt to represent sounds characteristic of the object they are intended to designate.[1]

Take, again, the inarticulate human sounds—sob, sigh, moan, groan, laugh, cough, weep, whoop, shriek, yawn.

Or of animals; as cackle, chuckle, gobble, quack, twitter, chirp, coo, hoot, caw, croak, chatter, neigh, whinny, mew, purr, bark, yelp, roar, bellow.

[1] Wedgwood, Introduction to Dic. of English Etymology. Farrar, Origin of Language, p. 89. See also Wedgwood's Origin of Language, which I regret I had not read when this chapter was written.

The collision of hard bodies : clap, rap, tap, knap, snap, trap, flap, slap, crack, smack, whack, thwack, pat, bat, batter, beat, butt ; and again : clash, flash, plash, splash, smash, dash, crash, bang, clang, twang, ring, ding, din, bump, thump, plump, boom, hum, drum, hiss, rustle, bustle, whistle, whisper, murmur, babble, &c.

So also sounds denoting certain motions and actions : whirr, whizz, puff, fizz, fly, flit, flow, flutter, patter, clatter, crackle, rattle, bubble, guggle, dabble, grabble, draggle, dripple, rush, shoot, shot, shut, &c.

Many words for cutting, and the objects cut, or used for cutting, &c., are obviously of similar origin. Thus we have the sound sh—r with each of the vowels ; share, a part cut off ; shear, an instrument for cutting ; shire, a division of a country ; shore, the division between land and sea, or as we use it in Kent, between two fields ; a shower a number of separate particles ; again : scissors, scythe, saw, scrape, shard, scale, shale, shell, shield, skull, schist, shatter, scatter, scar, scoop, score, scrape, scratch, scum, scour, scurf, surf, scuttle, sect, shape, sharp, shave, sheaf, shed, shoal, shread, split, splinter, splutter, &c.

Another important class of words is evidently founded on the sounds by which we naturally express our feelings. Thus from Oh ! Ah ! the instinctive cry of pain, we get woe, væ (Latin), wail, ache ; ἄχος, Gr.

From the deep guttural sound ugh, we have ugly, huge, and hug.

From pr, or prut, indicating contempt, or self-conceit, comes proud, pride, &c.

From fie, we have fiend, foe, feud, foul, Latin putris, Fr. puer, filth, fulsome, fear.

From that of smacking the lips, we get γλυκύς, dulcis, lick, like, which though originally no doubt applied to things eaten, is now used generally. Turner mentions that on presenting some hatchets to the natives of Tauna, they 'smacked their lips, and made their 'usual *click, click* with the mouth shut, in admiration of 'the fine new hatchets.'[1]

Under these circumstances I cannot but think that we may look upon the words above mentioned as the still recognisable descendants of roots which were onomatopœic in their origin ; and I am glad to see that Professor Max Müller, in his second series of lectures on language,[2] wishes to be understood as offering no opposition to this theory, although for the present 'satisfied with considering roots as phonetic types.'

It may be said, and said truly, that other classes of ideas are not so easily or naturally expressible by corresponding sounds ; and that abstract terms seldom have any such obvious derivation. We must remember, however, firstly, that abstract terms are wanting in the lowest languages ; and, secondly, that most words are greatly worn by use, and altered by the difference of pronunciation. Even among the most advanced races a few centuries suffice to produce a great change ; how, then, can we expect that any roots (excepting those which are preserved from material alteration by the constant suggestion of an obvious fitness) should have retained their original sound throughout the immense period which has elapsed since the origin of language ? Moreover, every one who has paid any attention to

[1] Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 55.
[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 92.

children, or schoolboys, must have observed how nicknames, often derived from slight and even fanciful characteristics, are seized on and soon adopted by general consent. Hence even if root-words had remained with little alteration, we should still be often puzzled to account for their origin.

Without, then, supposing with Farrar that all our root-words have originated from onomatopœia, I believe that they arose in the same way as the nicknames and new slang terms of our own day. These we know are often selected from some similarity of sound, or connection of ideas often so quaint, fanciful, or far-fetched, that we are unable to recall the true origin even of words which have arisen in our own time. How, then, can we wonder that the derivations of root-words which are thousands of years old should be in so many cases lost, or at least undeterminable with certainty?

Again, the words most frequently required, and especially those used by children, are generally represented by the simplest and easiest sounds, merely because they are the simplest. Thus in Europe we have papa and daddy, mamma, and baby; poupée for a doll; amme for a nurse, &c. Some authorities, indeed, have derived Pater and Papa from a root Pa to cherish, and Mater, Mother, from Ma to make; this derivation is accepted by writers representing the most opposite theories, as for instance by Pictet, Renan, Müller, Whitney, and even apparently by Farrar.

According to Professor Max Müller, the fact that 'the name father was coined at that early period, shows 'that the father acknowledged the offspring of his wife 'as his own, for thus only had he a right to claim the

'title of father. Father is derived from a root Pa, 'which means, not to beget but to protect, to support, 'to nourish. The father, as genitor, was called in 'Sanskrit ganitár, but as protector and supporter of his 'offspring he was called pitar: hence, in the Veda, 'these two names are used together, in order to express 'the full idea of Father. Thus the poet says :—

'Dyaús me petâ genitâ
Jovis mei pater genitor
Ζεὺς ἐμοῦ πατὴρ γενετήρ.

'In a similar manner mâtar, mother, is joined with 'ganitû, genitrix, which shows that the word mâtar 'must soon have lost its etymological meaning, and 'have become an expression of respect and endearment. 'For among the early Arians, mâtar had the sense of 'maker, from Ma, to fashion.' [1]

Now let us see what are the names for father and mother among some other races, omitting all languages derived from Sanskrit.[2]

AFRICA.

Language	*Father*	*Mother*
Filham	Papai	Inya [3]
Bola (N.W. Africa)	Papa	Ni
Sarar	Paba	Ne
Pepel	Papa	Nana
Biafada	Baba	Na
Baga	Bapa	Mana
Timne	Pa	Kara

[1] Comparative Mythology. Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 14.

[2] When this was written, and the following table was compiled, I had not seen Professor Buschman's paper on the same subject, contained in the Trans. of the Berlin Academy for 1852, and translated by Mr. Clarke in the Proc. of the Philological Soc., vol. vi.

[3] Koelle's Polyglotta Africana.

Language	*Father*	*Mother*
Mandenga	Fa	Na
Kabunga	,,	,,
Toronka	,,	,,
Dsalunka	,,	,,
Kankanka	,,	,,
Bambara	,,	Ba
Kono	,,	Ndé
Vei	,,	Ba
Soso	Fafe	Nga
Kisekise	,,	,,
Tene	Fafa	,,
Dewoi (Guinea)	Ba	Ma
Basa	,,	Ne
Gbe	Ba	De
Dahome	Da	Noe
Mahi	,, also Dadye	,,
Ota	Baba	Iya
Egba	,,	,,
Idsesa	,,	,,
Yoruba	,,	,,
Yagba	,,	,,
Eki	,,	,,
Dsumu	,,	,,
Oworo	,,	,,
Dsebu	,,	,,
Ife	,,	Yeye
Ondo	,,	Ye
Mose (High Sudan)	Ba	Ma
Gurma	,,	Na
Sobo (Niger District)	Wawa	Nene
Udso	Dada	Ayo
Nupe	Nda	Nna
Kupa	Dada	Mo
Esitako	Da	Na
Musu	Nda	Meya
Basa	Ba	Nno
Opanda	Ada	Onyi
Igu	,,	Onya

Language	*Father*	*Mother*
Egbira	Ada	Onya
Buduma (Central Africa)	Bawa	Ya
Bornu	Aba	,,
Munio	Bawa	,,
Nguru	,,	Iya
Kanem	Mba	,,
Karehare	Baba	Nana
Ngodsin	,,	,,
Doai	,,	Aye
Basa	Ada	Am
Kamuku	Baba	Bina
Songo (S.W. Africa)	Papa	Mama
Kiriman (S.E. Africa)	Baba	Mma
Bidsogo	,,	Ondsunei
Wun	Baba	Omsion
Gadsaga	,,	Ma
Gura	Da	Nye
Banyun	Aba	Aai
Nalu	Baba	Nya
Bulanda	,,	Ni
Limba	Papa	Na
Landoma	,,	Mama
Barba	Baba	Inya
Timbuktu	,,	Nya
Bagrmi	Babi	Kunyun
Kadzina	Baba	Ua
Timbo	,,	Nene
Salum	,,	Yuma
Goburu	,,	Inna
Kano	,,	Ina
Yala	Ada	Ene
Dsarawa	Tada	Nga
Koro	Oda	Ma
Yasgua	Ada	Ama
Kambali	Dada	Omo
Soa (Arabic group)	Aba	Aye
Wadai	Abba	Omma

Language	*Father*	*Mother*
Malenba	Tata	Mamma [1]
Embomma	Taata	Mama
Kaffir	Ubaba	Umame [2]

NON-ARYAN NATIONS OF EUROPE AND ASIA.[3]

Turkish	Baba	Ana
Georgian	Mama	Deda
Mantshu	Ama	Eme
Javanese	Bapa	Ibu
Malay	,,	Ma [4]
Syami (Thibet)	Dhada	,,
Thibetan	Pha	Ama
Serpa (Nepal)	Aba	,,
Murmi	Apa	Amma
Pakhya	Babai	Ama
Lepcha (Sikkim)	Abo	Amo
Bhutani	Appa	Ai
Dhimal (N.E. Bengal)	Aba	Ama
Kocch	Bap	Ma
Garo	Aba	Ama
Burman (Burmah)	Ahpa	Ami
Mru	Pa	Au
Sak	Aba	Anu
Talain (Siam)	Ma	Ya
Ho (Central India)	Appu	Enga
Santhali ,,	Baba	Ayo
Uraon ,,	Babe	Ayyo
Gayeti ,,	Baba	Dai
Khond	Abba	Ayya
Tuluva (Southern India)	Amme	Appe
Badaga ,,	Appa	Avve
Irula ,,	Amma	Avve

[1] Tuckey's Narrative.

[2] Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity.

[3] Hunter, Dic. of Non-Aryan Languages of India, &c.

[4] Crawford 's Malay Dictionary and Grammar.

Language	*Father*	*Mother*
Cinghalese	Appa	Amma
Chinese	Fu	Mu
Karen	Pa	Mo [1]
ISLANDERS.		
Kingsmill	Tama	Mama
New Zealand	Pa-Matuatana	Matua wahina
Tonga Islands	Tamny	Fae
Erroob (N. Australia)	Bab	Ama
Lewis' Murray Island	Baab	Hammah
AUSTRALIA.		
Jajowrong (N.W. Australia)	Marmook	Barbook
Knenkorenwurro ,,	Marmak	Barpanorook
Burapper ,,	Marmook	Barbook
Taungurong ,,	Warredoo	Barbanook
Boraipar (S. Australia)	Murmme	Parppe
Murrumbidgee	Kunny	Mamma
Western Australia	Mammun	Ngangan
Port Lincoln	Pappi	Maitya
ESQUIMAUX.		
Esquimaux (Hudson's Bay)	Atata	Amama
Tshuktchi (Asia)	Atta	?

The American languages seem at first sight opposed to the view here suggested ; on close examination, however, this is not the case, since the pronunciation of the labials is very difficult to many American races. Thus La Hontan (who is confirmed by Gallatin [2]) informs us that the Hurons do not use the labials, and that he spent four days in attempting, without success, to teach a Huron to pronounce b, p, and m. The Iroquois are

[1] Morgan, Sys. of Consanguinity.
[2] Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., vol. i. p. 236.

stated not to use labials. Garcilasso de la Vega tells us that the Peruvian language wanted the letters b, d, f, g, s, and x; b, d, f, g, r, and s in Aztec;[1] and the Indians of Port au Français, according to M. Lamanon, made no use of the consonants b, d, f, j, p, v, or x.[2] Still, even in America we find some cases in which the sounds for father resemble those so general elsewhere; thus:—

Language	*Father*	*Mother*
Costanos (N.W. America)	Ah pah	Ah nah
Tahakli ,,	Apa	,,
Tlatskanai ,,	Mama	Naa
Nasqually ,,	Baa	Sogo
Nootha ,,	Api	Una
Athapascans (Canada)	Appa	Unnungcool
Omahas (Missouri)	Dadai	Eehong
Minnetarees	Tantai	Eeka
Choctas (Mississippi)	Aunkke	Iskeh
Caribs	Baba	Bibi
Quichua	Yaya	Mama
Uainamben (Amazons)	Pai	Ami
Cobeu ,,	Ipaki	Ipako
Tucano ,,	Pagui	Maou
Tariana ,,	Paica	Naca
Baniwa	Padjo	Nadjo
Barre	Mbaba	Memi
Muysea	Paba	Guuira

Finding, then, that the easiest sounds which a child can produce denote father and mother almost all over the world; remembering that the root ba or pa indicates baby as well as father; that in various parts of the world the roots 'pa' and 'ma' denote other near relationships; and observing that in some cases the

[1] Wuttke's Ges. der Mensch., vol. i. p. 279. [2] Gallatin, *loc. cit.* p. 63.

usual sounds are reversed ; as, for instance, in Georgian, where mamma stands for father, and dada for mother ; or in Tuluva, where amme is father, and appe is mother ; in Chilian, where 'papa' means mother ; in Tlatskanai, where 'mama' stands for father ; in Madurese again, where 'mama' means father, 'ambu' or 'babu' mother ; or some of the Australian tribes, in which combinations of the sound mar stand for father, and bar for mother ; we must surely admit that the Sanskrit verb Pa. to protect, comes from pa, father, and not *vice versâ*.

There are few more interesting studies than the steps by which our present language has been derived from these original roots. This subject has been admirably dealt with by my friend Professor Max Müller in his 'Lectures on Language,' and, tempting as it would be to do so, I do not propose to follow him into that part of the science. As regards the formation of the original roots, however, he declines to express any opinion. Rejecting what he calls the pooh-pooh and bow-wow theories[1] (though they are in reality but one), he observes that 'the theory which is suggested 'to us by an analysis of language carried out according 'to the principles of comparative philology, is the very 'opposite. We arrive in the end at roots, and every 'one of these expresses a general, not an individual 'idea.' But the whole question is, How were these roots chosen ? How did particular things come to be denoted by particular sounds ?

Here, however, Professor Max Müller stops. Nothing, he admits,[2] 'would be more interesting than to 'know from historical documents the exact process by

[1] Science of Language, p. 373. [2] *Loc. cit.* p. 346.

'which the first man began to lisp his first words, and 'thus to be rid for ever of all the theories on the origin 'of speech. But this knowledge is denied us; and, if 'it had been otherwise, we should probably be quite 'unable to understand those primitive events in the 'history of the human mind.'

Yet in his last chapter he says,[1] 'And now I am 'afraid I have but a few minutes left to explain the 'last question of all in our science, namely, How can 'sound express thought? How did roots become the 'signs of general ideas? How was the abstract idea of 'measuring expressed by mâ, the idea of thinking 'by man? How did gâ come to mean going, sthâ 'standing, sad sitting, dâ giving, mar dying, char 'walking, kar doing? I shall try to answer as briefly 'as possible. The 400 or 500 roots which remain as 'the constituent elements in different families of lan-'guage are not interjections, nor are they imitations. 'They are phonetic types produced by a power inherent 'in human nature. They exist, as Plato would say, by 'nature; though with Plato we should add that, when 'we say by nature, we mean by the hand of God. 'There is a law which runs through nearly the whole 'of nature; that everything which is struck rings. . . . 'Man, in his primitive and perfect state, was not only 'endowed, like the brute, with the power of expressing 'his sensations by interjections, and his perceptions by 'onomatopœia. He possessed likewise the faculty of 'giving more articulate expression to the natural con-'ceptions of his mind. That faculty was not of his 'making. It was an instinct, an instinct of the mind

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 386.

'as irresistible as any other instinct. So far as lan-'guage is the production of that instinct, it belongs to 'the realm of nature.'

This answer, though expressed with Professor Max Müller's usual eloquence, does not convey to my mind any definite conception. On the other hand, it appears to me that at any rate, as regards some roots, we have, as already pointed out, a satisfactory explanation. Professor Max Müller,[1] indeed, admits that 'there are 'some names, such as cuckoo, which are clearly formed 'by an imitation of sound. But,' he adds, 'words of 'this kind are, like artificial flowers, without a root. 'They are sterile, and are unfit to express anything 'beyond the one object which they imitate. If you 'remember the variety of derivatives that could be 'formed from the root spac, to see, you will at once 'perceive the difference between the fabrication of such 'a word as cuckoo, and the true natural growth of 'words.' It has, however, been already shown that such roots, far from being sterile, are, on the contrary, very fruitful, and we must remember that savage languages are extremely poor in abstract terms.

Indeed, the vocabularies of the various races are most interesting from the indications which they afford with reference to the condition of those by whom they are used. Thus we get a melancholy idea of the moral state and family life of tribes which are deficient in terms of endearment. Colonel Dalton[2] tells us that the Hos of Central India have no 'endearing epithets.' The Algonquin language, one of the richest in North America, contained no verb 'to love,' and when Elliot

[1] Science of Language, p. 363. [2] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vi. p. 27.

translated the Bible into it in 1661, he was obliged to coin a word for the purpose. The Tinné Indians on the other side of the Rocky Mountains had no equivalent for 'dear' or 'beloved.' 'I endeavoured,' says General Lefroy, 'to put this intelligibly to Nanette, by 'supposing such an expression as ma chère femme ; ma 'chère fille. When at length she understood it, her 'reply was (with great emphasis), "I' disent jamais ça ; '"i' disent ma femme, ma fille."' The Kalmucks and some of the South Sea Islanders are said to have had no word for 'thanks.' Lichtenstein,[1] speaking of the Bushmen, mentions it as a remarkable instance of the total absence of civilisation among them that 'they 'have no names, and seem not to feel the want of such 'a means of distinguishing one individual from another.' Pliny[2] makes a similar statement concerning a race in Northern Africa. Freycinet[3] also asserts that some of the Australian tribes did not name their women. I confess that I am inclined to doubt these statements, and to refer the supposed absence of names to the curious superstitions already referred to (*ante*, p. 248), and which makes savages so reluctant to communicate their true names to strangers. The Brazilian tribes, according to Spix and Martius, had separate names for the different parts of the body, and for all the different animals and plants with which they were acquainted, but were entirely deficient in such terms as 'colour,' 'tone,' 'sex,' 'genus,' 'spirit,' &c.

Bailey[4] mentions that the language of the Veddahs

[1] Vol. i. p. 119; vol. ii. p. 49.
[2] Nat. Hist. l. v. s. viii.
[3] Vol. ii. p. 749.
[4] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. ii. p. 298; see also p. 300.

(Ceylon) 'is very limited. It only contains such 'phrases as are required to describe the most striking 'objects of nature, and those which enter into the daily 'life of the people themselves. So rude and primitive 'is their dialect that the most ordinary objects and 'actions of life are described by quaint periphrases.'

'In Kocch, Bodo, and Dhimal there is not a single 'vernacular word to express matter, spirit, space, 'instinct, reason, consciousness, quantity, degree, or 'the like.'[1] Among the Bongo of Central Africa words for 'abstract ideas, such as spirit, soul, hope, fear, 'appear to be absolutely wanting, but experience 'shows that in this respect other negro tongues are 'not more richly provided.'[2]

The Australian dialects are almost destitute of abstract terms and generic words.

The Tasmanians, again, had no general term for a tree, though they had names for each particular kind; nor could they express 'qualities such as hard, soft, 'warm, cold, long, short, round,' &c.

According to missionaries the Fuegians had 'no 'abstract terms.' In the North American languages a term 'sufficiently general to denote an oak-tree is ex-'ceptional.' Thus, the Choctaw language has names for the black oak, white oak, and red oak, but none for an oak, still less for a tree.

Speaking of the Coroados (Brazil), Martius observes that 'it would be in vain to seek among them words for 'the abstract ideas of plant, animal, and the still more

[1] Essay on the Kocch, Bodo, and Dhimal Tribes, by B. H. Hodgson, Esq., p. ii. See also Hunter's Annals of Rural Bengal, p. 113.

[2] Schweinfurth's Heart of Africa, vol. i. p. 311.

'abstract notions colour, tone, sex, species, &c.; such a 'generalisation of ideas is found among them only in 'the frequently used infinitive of the verbs to walk, to 'eat, to drink, to dance, to see, to hear, &c. They 'have no conception of the general powers and laws of 'nature, and therefore cannot express them in words.'[1] It is remarkable that barbarous races are often deficient in terms denoting colours.

Nor is this the case with the lower races only. The colour of grass and foliage is scarcely alluded to in the Vedas or the Zendavesta. The most ancient Indian sacred book, the Rigveda, though, as Geiger has pointed out,[2] containing 10,000 lines, and consisting principally of hymns to heaven, does not contain the word 'blue' or 'green;' nor are these colours mentioned in the old Persian sacred writings—the Zendavesta. The word 'blue' is also absent from the earlier books of the Old Testament, the Koran, and the writings of Homer, although in the former the heaven is mentioned no less than 450 times. The Greeks and Romans in ancient times appear indeed to have had no word for 'blue.' *Κυανὸς*, which subsequently acquired the meaning, in Homer always stands for 'black;' and cæruleus appears originally to have had the same meaning, and to have gradually passed through 'grey' to 'blue.' Indeed our own word 'blue' is similarly connected with 'bleach' and 'black.' So also the ancient words for green and yellow seem to have been used almost as equivalents. It is, moreover, remarkable that both Aristotle and Xenophanes speak of the rainbow as composed of three

[1] Spix and Martius, Travels in Brazil, vol. ii. p. 253.

[2] Zur Entw. der Menschheit, p. 46.

colours—purple, yellow, and green. The Todas appear to have but one word for 'black,' 'blue,' and 'green.'[1]

Some eminent authorities consider that this curious fact arises from a want of the power of perceiving certain colours, a view which seems to me quite inadmissible.

There is, perhaps, no more interesting part of the study of language than that which concerns the system of numeration, nor any more striking proof of the low mental condition of many savage races than the undoubted fact that they are unable to count their own fingers, even of one hand.

According to Lichtenstein, the Bushmen could not count beyond two. Spix and Martius make the same statement about the Brazilian Wood-Indians. The Botocudos had a word for 'one,' but everything beyond was 'many.' The natives of Erroob and some of the Cape Yorkers of Australia count as follows :—

One	Netat.
Two	Naes.
Three	Naes-netat.
Four	Naes-naes.
Five	Naes-naes-netat.
Six	Naes-naes-naes.

Other Cape Yorkers have words for one, two, and three, while for four they say Ungatua, *i.e.* the whole (hand being understood).[2]

In Western Australia gudgal is two, gudgalin-

[1] Marshall, Phrenologist among the Todas, p. 250.

[2] Gill, Life in the Southern Isles, p. 225.

gudgalin four. Five is mashjinbangga, *i.e.* half the two hands. Moore also gives as a word (?) for fifteen, mehr-jin-belli-belli-gudgir-jina-bangga.[1] *i.e.* the hand on either side and half the feet. Speaking of the Lower Murray nations, Mr. Beveridge says, 'Their numerals are confined to two alone, viz. "ryup," "politi," the first signifying "one" and the second "two." To express five, they say "ryup murnangin," or one hand, and to express ten, "politi murnangin," or two hands.'[2] No Australians, indeed, can be said to go beyond four, their term for five simply implying a large number.

The Dammaras, according to Galton, used no term beyond three. He gives so admirable and at the same time so amusing an account of Dammara difficulties in language and arithmetic that I cannot resist quoting it in full. 'We had,' he says,[3] 'to trust to our Dammara guides, whose ideas of time and distance were most provokingly indistinct; besides this they have no comparative in their language, so that you cannot say to them, "Which is the longer of the two, the "next stage or the last one?" but you must say, "The last is little; the next is it great?" The reply is not, It is a "little longer," or "very much "longer," but simply, "It is so," or "It is not so." When inquiries are made about how many days' journey off a place may be, their ignorance of all numerical ideas is very annoying. In practice, whatever they may possess in their language, they certainly use no numeral greater than three. When they wish to ex-

[1] Moore, Ten Years in W. Australia.

[2] Trans. of the R. S. of Victoria, vol. vi. p. 151. Lang, Queensland, p. 433.

[3] Galton's Tropical South Africa, p. 213.

'press four, they take to their fingers, which are to them 'as formidable instruments of calculation as a sliding 'rule is to an English schoolboy. They puzzle very 'much after five, because no spare hand remains to 'grasp and secure the fingers that are required for units. 'Yet they seldom lose oxen; the way in which they 'discover the loss of one is not by the number of the 'herd being diminished, but by the absence of a face 'they know. When bartering is going on, each sheep 'must be paid for separately. Thus, suppose two sticks 'of tobacco to be the rate of exchange for one sheep, it 'would sorely puzzle a Dammara to take two sheep and 'give him four sticks. I have done so, and seen a man 'put two of the sticks apart, and take a sight over them 'at one of the sheep he was about to sell. Having 'satisfied himself that that one was honestly paid for, 'and finding to his surprise that exactly two sticks re- 'mained in hand to settle the account for the other sheep, 'he would be afflicted with doubts; the transaction 'seemed to come out too "pat" to be correct, and he 'would refer back to the first couple of sticks; and 'then his mind got hazy and confused, and wandered 'from one sheep to the other, and he broke off the 'transaction until two sticks were put into his hand, 'and one sheep driven away, and then the other two 'sticks given him, and the second sheep driven away. 'When a Dammara's mind is bent upon number, it is 'too much occupied to dwell upon quantity; thus a 'heifer is bought from a man for ten sticks of tobacco, 'his large hands being both spread out upon the ground, 'and a stick placed upon each finger. He gathers up 'the tobacco, the size of the mass pleases him, and the

'bargain is struck. You then want to buy a second 'heifer; the same process is gone through, but half 'sticks instead of whole sticks are put upon his fingers; 'the man is equally satisfied at the time, but occasionally 'finds it out, and complains the next day.

'Once while I watched a Dammara floundering 'hopelessly in a calculation on one side of me, I ob- 'served Dinah, my spaniel, equally embarrassed on the 'other. She was overlooking half a dozen of her new- 'born puppies, which had been removed two or three 'times from her, and her anxiety was excessive, as she 'tried to find out if they were all present, or if any 'were still missing. She kept puzzling and running 'her eyes over them, backwards and forwards, but 'could not satisfy herself. She evidently had a vague 'notion of counting, but the figure was too large for 'her brain. Taking the two as they stood, dog and 'Dammara, the comparison reflected no great honour 'on the man.'

All over the world the fingers are used as counters; and although the numerals of most races are so worn down by use that we can no longer detect their original meaning, there are many savage tribes in which the words used are merely the verbal expressions of the signs used in counting with the fingers.

Of this I have just given several instances. In Labrador 'Tallek,' a hand, means also 'five,' and the term for twenty means hands and feet together.

So also the Esquimaux of Greenland[1] for twenty say 'a man; that is, as many fingers and toes as a man 'has; and then count as many fingers more as are

[1] Crantz, Hist. of Greenland, vol. i. p. 225.

'above the number; consequently, instead of 100, they 'say five men. But the generality are not such learned 'arithmeticians, and therefore when the number is above 'twenty, they say "it is innumerable."' The number 8 is 'three on the other hand,' and 24 'four on the second 'man.' So also among the Kolusches the word for twenty is the hka, literally 'one man;' for forty, tach hka, 'two men.'[1]

Speaking of the Ahts, Mr. Sproat[2] says, 'It may be 'noticed that their word for one occurs again in that 'for six and nine, and the word for two is that for 'seven and eight. The Aht Indians count upon their 'fingers. They always count, except where they have 'learnt differently from their contact with civilisation, 'by raising the hands with the palms upwards, and 'extending all the fingers, and bending down each finger 'as it is used for enumeration. They begin with the 'little finger. This little finger, then, is one. Now 'six is five (that is, one whole hand) and one more. 'We can easily see, then, why their word for six 'comprehends the word for one. Again, seven is 'five (one whole hand) and two more—thus 'their word for seven comprehends the word for 'two. Again, when they have bent down the eighth 'finger, the most noticeable feature of the hand is that 'two fingers, that is, a finger and a thumb, remain ex-'tended. Now, the Aht word for eight comprehends 'atlah, the word for two. The reason for this I imagine 'to be as follows: Eight is ten (or the whole hands) 'wanting two. Again, when the ninth finger is down.

[1] Erman. Zeit. f. Ethnologie, 1871, p. 217.

[2] Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, p. 121.

'only one finger is left extended. Their word for nine 'comprehends tsowwauk, the word for one. Nine is 'ten (or two whole hands) wanting one.'[1] So again among the Pit River Indians 9 means literally 'pretty near 10.'[2]

The Zamuca and Muysca Indians[3] have a cumbrous, but interesting, system of numeration. For five they say, 'hand finished.' For six, 'one of the other hand;' that is to say, take a finger of the other hand. For ten they say, 'two hands finished,' or sometimes more simply 'quicha.' that is 'foot.' Eleven is foot-one; twelve, foot-two; thirteen, foot-three, and so on: twenty is the feet finished; or in other cases 'Man,' because a man has ten fingers and ten toes, thus making twenty.

Among the Jaruroes the word for forty is 'noeni 'pume;' *i.e.* two men, from noeni, two, and canipune, men.

Speaking of the Guiana natives, Mr. Brett observes[4] that 'another point in which the different nations agree 'is their method of numeration. The first four num- 'bers are represented by simple words, as in the table 'above given. Five is "my one hand," *abar-dakabo* 'in Arawâk. Then comes a repetition, *abar timen*, '*biam timen*, &c., up to nine. *Biam-dakabo*, "my two '"hands," is ten. From ten to twenty they use the 'toes (*kuti* or *okuti*), as *abar-kuti-bana*, "eleven," *biam-* '*kuti-bana*, "twelve," &c. They call twenty *abar-loko*, 'one *loko* or man. They then proceed by *men* or 'scores; thus, forty-five is laboriously expressed by

[1] Scenes and Studies of Savage Life, pp. 121, 122.

[2] Powers, Cont. to Amer. Ethn., vol. iii. p. 273.

[3] Humboldt's Personal Researches, vol. ii. p. 117.

[4] Brett's Indian Tribes of Guiana, p. 417.

'*biam-loko-abar-dakabo tajeago*, "two men and one '"hand upon it." For higher numbers they have now 'recourse to our words *hundred* and *thousand*.' So also among the Caribs, the word for 'ten,' Chonnoucabo raim, meant literally 'the fingers of both hands;' and that for 'twenty' was Chonnougouci raim, *i.e.* the fingers and toes.[1]

The Coroados[2] generally count only by the joints of the fingers, consequently only to three. Every greater number they express by the word 'mony.'

According to Dobritzhoffer 'the Guaranies, when 'questioned respecting a thing exceeding four, imme-'diately reply ndipapahabi, ndipapahai, innumerable.'[3] So also the Abipones[4] can only express three numbers 'in proper words: *Iñitára*, one, *Iñoaka*, two, *Iñoaka* '*yekaini*, three. They make up for the other numbers 'by various arts; thus, *geyenk ñatè*, the fingers of an 'emu, which, as it has three in front and one turned 'back, are four, serves to express that number: *nèen-'halek*, a beautiful skin spotted with five different 'colours, is used to signify the number five.' '*Hanám* '*begem*, the fingers of one hand, means five; *lanám* '*rihegem*, the fingers of both hands, ten; *lanám rihegem* '*cat qracherhaka anamichirihegem*, the fingers of both 'hands and both feet, twenty.'

Among the Malays and throughout Polynesia the word for five is ima, lima, or rima. In Bila, lima also means a hand; this is also the case in the Bugis, Mandhar, and Endé languages: in the Makasar dialect it is

[1] Tertre's History of the Caribby Islands.

[2] Spix and Martius, Travels in Brazil, vol. ii. p. 255.

[3] History of the Abipones, vol. ii. p. 171.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 169.

liman, in Sasak it is ima, in Bima it is rima, in Sembawa it is limang.[1] In Ellice's Islands 10 is 'katua' ='all,' *i.e.* all the fingers.[2]

In the Mpongwe language 'tyani' or 'tani' is five, 'ntyame' is 'hand.'[3] The Koossa Kaffirs make little use of numerals. Lichtenstein could never discover that they had any word for eight, few could reckon beyond ten, and many did not know the names of any numerals. Yet if a single animal was missing out of a herd of several hundred, they observed it immediately.[4] This, however, as Mr. Galton explains, is merely because they miss a face they know. Among the Zulu, 'tatitisupa,' six, means literally 'take the thumb;' *i.e.* having used the fingers of one hand, take the thumb of the next. 'The numbers,' says Lichtenstein, 'are 'commonly expressed among the Beetjuans by fingers 'held up, so that the word is rarely spoken; many are 'even unacquainted with these numerals, and never 'employ anything but the sign. It therefore occa-'sioned me no small trouble to learn the numerals, 'and I could by no means arrive at any denomination 'for the numbers five and nine. Beyond ten even 'the most learned could not reckon, nor could I make 'out by what signs they ever designated these higher 'numbers.'[5]

The Bushmen cannot usually count beyond two, but one tribe uses the word 'guem tsom,' *i.e.* a hand, for five.

[1] Raffles's History of Java, Appendix F.

[2] Gill, Myths of the South Pacific, p. 326.

[3] Grammar of the Mpongwe Language. 1847.

[4] Lichtenstein, vol. i. p. 280. See also App.

[5] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. App.

Even in our own language the word 'five' has a similar origin, since it is derived from the Greek πέντε, which again is evidently connected with the Persian pendji ; now in Persian 'pentcha' means a hand, as Humboldt has already pointed out.[1]

Hence, no doubt, the prevalence of the decimal system in arithmetic ; it has no particular advantage ; indeed, either eight or twelve would, in some respects, have been more convenient ; eight, because you can divide it by two, and then divide the result again by two ; and twelve, because it is divisible by six, four, three, and two. Ten, however, has naturally been selected, because we have ten fingers.

These examples, then, appear to me very instructive ; we seem, as it were, to trace up the formation of the numerals ; we perceive the true cause of the decimal system of notation ; and we obtain interesting, if melancholy, evidence of the extent to which the faculty of thought lies dormant among the lower races of man.

[1] Personal Researches, London 1814, vol. ii. p. 116.

CHAPTER XI.

LAWS.

THE customs and laws of the lower races, so far as religious and family relations are concerned, have already been discussed. There are, however, some other points of view with reference to which it seems desirable to make some remarks. The progress and development of law is indeed one of the most interesting as well as important sections of human history. It is far less essential, as Goguet[1] truly observes, 'de savoir le nombre 'des dynasties et les noms des souverains qui les com- 'posoient ; mais il est essentiel de connoître les loix, les 'arts, les sciences et les usages d'une nation que toute 'l'antiquité a regardée comme un modèle de sagesse et de 'vertu. Voilà les objets que je me suis proposés, et 'que je vais traiter avec le plus d'exactitude qu'il me 'sera possible.' It is, however, impossible thoroughly to understand the laws of the most advanced nations, unless we take into consideration those customs of ruder communities from which they took their origin, by which they are so profoundly influenced.

It is, therefore, very much to be regretted that we are not more thoroughly acquainted with the laws and customs of savage races.

At the time Goguet published his celebrated work,

[1] De l'Origine des Loix, des Arts et des Sciences, vol. i. p. 45.

our knowledge was even more defective than is now the case.

Still, I am surprised that with the evidence which was before him, and especially as he was one of the first to point out that much light is thrown by the condition of modern savages on that of our ancestors in times now long gone by,[1] he should have regarded the monarchical form of government as the most ancient and most universally established.[2] 'C'est, sans con-'tredit,' he says, 'le plus anciennement et le plus uni-'versellement établi.'

'La royauté,' he continues, 'est d'ailleurs une image 'de l'autorité que les pères avoient originairement sur 'leurs enfants : ils étoient dans ces premiers tems les 'chefs et les législateurs de leur famille.'

Whereas, it has been already shown in the earlier chapters of this work that the family is by no means so perfectly organised among the lowest races.

Sir G. Grey,[3] speaking of the Australians, truly says that the 'laws of this people are unfitted for the govern-'ment of a single isolated family, some of them being 'only adapted for the regulation of an assemblage of 'families ; they could, therefore, not have been a series

[1] M. Goguet remarks that some races, being ignorant of the art of writing, even now, 'pour constater 'leurs ventes, leurs achats, leurs em-'prunts, &c., emploient certains mor-'ceaux de bois entaillés diversement. 'On les coupe en deux : le créancier en garde une moitié, et le débiteur 'retient l'autre. Quand la dette ou la 'promesse est acquittée, chacun re-'met le morceau qu'il avoit par devers 'lui' (p. 26). This method of keeping accounts is not confined to savage races. It was practised by the English Government down to the commencement of the present century, and I myself possess such a receipt given by the English Government to the East India Company in the year 1770, and duly preserved in the India House until within the last ten years. It represents 24,000*l.*, indicated by twenty-four equal notches in a rod of wood.

[2] *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 9.

[3] Grey's Australia, vol. ii. p. 222.

'of rules given by the first father to his children : again 'they could not have been rules given by an assembly 'of the first fathers to their children, for there are these 'remarkable features about them, that some are of such 'a nature as to compel those subject to them to remain 'in a state of barbarism.'

But, although the progress and development of law belong, for the most part, to a more advanced stage of human society than that which is the subject of this work, still, in one sense, as already mentioned, even the lowest races of savages have laws.

Those who have not devoted much attention to the subject have generally regarded the savage as having one advantage, at least, over civilised man; that, namely, of enjoying an amount of personal freedom greater than that of individuals belonging to more civilised communities.

There cannot be a greater mistake. The savage is nowhere free. All over the world his daily life is regulated by a complicated and often most inconvenient set of customs (as forcible as laws), of quaint prohibitions and privileges; the prohibitions as a general rule applying to the women, and the privileges to the men. Nay, every action of their lives is regulated by numerous rules, none the less stringent because unwritten.

'The Karens,' says M'Mahon, 'possess an oral law 'almost as cumbrous as the written law of more civilised 'peoples.'[1]

The Hindoos from the cradle to the burning ground are hemmed round with caste rules, religious observances, and Brahmanical exactions.

[1] The Karens of the Gold. Chersonese, p. 83.

Speaking of the natives of Bengal, Sir J. Phear tells us that 'their down-sittings and uprisings, walking, 'sleeping, eating, drinking, may be said to be subject to 'the arbitrary control of spiritual agencies.'[1]

'Fashion,' says Schweinfurth, 'in the distant wilds 'of Africa, tortures and harasses poor humanity as much 'as in the great prison of civilisation.'[2]

In Peru the houses were inspected by Government officials, to see that the household was kept in proper order, and even that the children were under due control. In Madagascar any man who changed his locality or occupation without permission was liable to death. In Japan, until recently, the hours of rising, dining, and going to bed were fixed by law. 'Then we also 'learned that with them every day throughout each 'month has its fàdy or food which must not be eaten 'when travelling on that day. Thus, on the first day 'silkworms must not be eaten; on the second Indian 'corn is prohibited; and so on successively, with sugar-cane, bananas, sweet potatoes, rice, jams, honey, earth-'nuts, beans, kàtsaka, and vòamàho.'[3]

Mr. Lang, speaking of the Australians,[4] tells us that, 'instead of enjoying perfect personal freedom, as it 'would at first appear, they are governed by a code of 'rules and a set of customs which form one of the most 'cruel tyrannies that has ever, perhaps, existed on the 'face of the earth, subjecting not only the will, but the 'property and life of the weak to the dominion of the

[1] Sir John B. Phear, The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon, p. 22.

[2] Heart of Africa, vol. i. p. 410.

[3] Folk Lore Record, vol. ii. p. 31.

[4] Aborigines of Australia, p. 7. Eyre, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 385. See Note.

'strong. The whole tendency of the system is to give 'everything to the strong and old, to the prejudice of 'the weak and young, and more particularly to the 'detriment of the women. They have rules by which 'the best food, the best pieces, the best animals, &c., are 'prohibited to the women and young men, and reserved 'for the old. The women are generally appropriated to 'the old and powerful, some of whom possess four to 'seven wives; while wives are altogether denied to 'young men, unless they have sisters to give in ex-'change, and are strong and courageous enough to 'prevent their sisters from being taken without ex-'change.'

The Australian savage cannot even do as he likes with the game he has killed when hunting, but is tied down by strict rules which allot one leg to one member of his family, one to another, the breast to a third, and so on.

Among the Mbayas of South America the married women are not allowed to eat beef, capibara, or monkey; and the girls are forbidden to partake of any meat, or any fish which is more than a foot long. 'Les Chartreux 'mêmes ne sont pas venus à ce point d'austérité.'[1]

Amongst the Samoyedes, women may not eat the head of the reindeer, nor pass across a hut behind the fire.

'To believe,' says Sir G. Grey,[2] 'that man in a 'savage state is endowed with freedom, either of thought 'or action, is erroneous in the highest degree.'

In Tahiti,[3] the men were allowed to eat the flesh of

[1] Azara's Voy. dans l'Amér. Méridionale. 217.

[2] Grey's Australia, vol. ii. p. p. 222.

[3] Polynesian Researches, vol. i.

'the pig, and of fowls, and a variety of fish, cocoa-nuts, 'and plantains, and whatever was presented as an offer-'ing to the gods, which the females, on pain of death, 'were forbidden to touch, as it was supposed they would 'pollute them. The fires on which the men's food was 'cooked were also sacred, and were forbidden to be used 'by the females. The baskets in which their provisions 'were kept, and the house in which the men ate, were 'also sacred, and prohibited to the females under the 'same cruel penalty; hence the inferior food, both for 'wives, daughters, &c., was cooked at separate fires, 'deposited in distinct baskets, and eaten in lonely 'solitude by the females in little huts erected for the 'purpose.' 'Nothing,' says the Bishop of Wellington, 'can be more mistaken than to represent the New 'Zealanders as a people without law and order. They 'are, and were, the slaves of law, rule, and prece-'dent.'[1]

The head of a chief was regarded as especially sacred; and Shortland gives an amusing account of a case in which an unfortunate child suffered sadly, because 'no one could for a long time be found of suffi-'ciently high rank to cut his hair or wash his head.'[2]

If savages pass unnoticed many actions which we should consider as highly criminal, on the other hand they strictly forbid others which we should consider altogether immaterial.

The natives of Russian America, near the Yukon river, 'have certain superstitions with regard to the 'bones of animals, which they will neither throw on the

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1870, p. 367.

[2] Traditions of the New Zealanders, p. 108.

'fire nor to the dogs, but save them in their houses or 'caches. When they saw us careless in such matters, 'they said it would prevent them from catching or 'shooting successfully. Also, they will not throw away 'their hair or nails just cut short, but save them, hanging them frequently in packages on the trees.'[1] The Mongols[2] think it a fault to touch the fire, or take flesh out of the pot, with a knife,[3] or to cleave wood with a hatchet near the hearth, imagining it takes away the fire's power. It is no less faulty to lean on a whip or touch arrows with it; to kill young birds; or pour liquor on the ground; to strike a horse with a bridle; or break one bone against another. Mr. Tylor has already pointed out[4] that almost exactly the same prohibitions occur in America.

Some savage rules are very sensible. Thus Tanner states that the Algonkin Indians, when on a war-path, must not sit upon the naked ground, but must, at least, have some grass or bushes under them. They must, if possible, avoid wetting their feet; but if they are compelled to wade through a swamp, or to cross a stream, they must keep their clothes dry, and whip their legs with bushes or grass when they come out of the water.[5] For others the reason is not so obvious. Thus, the small bowls out of which they drink are marked across the middle; in going out they must place one side to their mouth; in returning, the other. The vessels must also on their return be thrown away or hung up in a tree.

[1] Whymper, Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vii. p. 174.

[2] Astley's Coll., vol. iv. p. 548.

[3] It is curious that this idea also occurred among the Greeks.

[4] Early History of Man, p. 136.

[5] Tanner's Narrative, p. 123.

Hunting tribes generally have well-understood rules with reference to game. Among the Greenlanders, should a seal escape with a hunter's javelin in it, and be killed by another man afterwards, it belongs to the former. But if the seal be struck with the harpoon and bladder, and the string break, the hunter loses his right. If a man find a seal dead with a harpoon in it, he keeps the seal, but returns the harpoon. In reindeer hunting, if several hunters strike a deer together, it belongs to the one whose arrow is nearest the heart. The arrows are all marked, so that no dispute can arise, but since guns have been introduced many quarrels have taken place. Any man who finds a piece of drift-wood (which in the far North is extremely valuable) can appropriate it by placing a stone on it, as a sign that some one has taken possession of it. No other Greenlander will then touch it.

Among the Khonds, hunters in pursuit of game have 'an admitted right to pursue it to any place, either 'within or without their own boundaries, until the 'animal is killed or captured,' but it is also understood that 'the villagers on whose land it may be killed have 'a right to a share of the meat.' [1]

Again, far from being informal or extemporary, the salutations, ceremonies, treaties, and contracts of savages are characterised by the very opposite qualities.

Eyre mentions that in Australia, 'in their inter-'course with each other, natives of different tribes are 'exceedingly punctilious.' [2] The same is the case with the natives of Guiana.

[1] Campbell's Wild Tribes of Khondistan, p. 41.

[2] Discoveries in Australia, vol. ii. p. 214.

Mariner gives a long account of the elaborate ceremonies practised by the Tongans, and of their 'regard 'for rank.'[1] The king[2] was by no means of the highest rank. The Tooitonga Veachi, and several other chiefs, preceded him. Indeed the name Tooitonga means King of Tonga; the office, however, had come to be wholly of a religious character; the Tooitonga being regarded as descended from the gods, if not a deity himself. He was so sacred that some words were retained for his exclusive use. Below Tooitonga and Veachi came the priests, while civil society was divided into five ranks—the king, the nobles, the Matabooles, the Mooas, and the Tooas. The child took the rank of the mother among the nobles, but the Matabooles were succeeded by the eldest son.

Among the Micronesians, also, distinctions of rank were very strictly observed. Thus in Banabe, one of the Caroline Islands, there were three classes, and we are assured that even in battle 'a person of one class 'never attacked one of another.'[3]

It is curious that the use of the third person in token of respect occurs in Tonga, as well as some other countries. Thus the king of Tonga addressing the 'Tooitonga says, "Ho egi Tooitonga;" that is, literally, 'thy Lord Tooitonga, in which the possessive pronoun 'thy, or your, is used instead of my; or if the word 'egi be translated lordship or chiefship, the term of 'address will be more consistent and similar to ours, 'your lordship, your grace, your majesty. The title ho 'egi is never used but in addressing a superior chief

[1] Tonga Islands, vol. ii. pp. 185, 199, 207.

[2] *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 79.

[3] Hale's U.S. Expl. Exped., p. 83.

'or speaking of a god, or in a public speech. Ho egi! 'also means chiefs, as in the commencement of Finow's 'speech.'[1]

In Samoa we are assured that the distinction between the language of the ceremony and that of common life is even more marked than in Tonga.[2]

Samoan orators, moreover, are not satisfied to address their audience generally, but go over the names and titles, even with ancestral references.

Here also the plural is always used in speaking to a superior. Mr. Turner mentions that the first time he was so addressed he felt somewhat hurt, for as he did not know the custom and happened to be riding, he thought the native intended to couple him with his horse.[3]

In Fiji, if by chance a chief slipped or fell, every one of inferior rank was expected immediately to do the same, lest they should appear more careful or skilful than their superior. In such a case, however, the chief was expected to pay handsomely for the compliment.[4]

The Egbas, a negro race of West Africa, who are, says Burton,[5] 'gifted with uncommon loquacity and 'spare time, have invented a variety of salutations and 'counter-salutations applicable to every possible occa-'sion. For instance, Oji re, did you wake well? 'Akwaro, good morning! Akuasan, good day! Akwale, 'good evening! Akware, to one tired. Akushe, to 'one at work. Akurin (from rin, to walk), to a tra-'veller. Akule, to one in the house. Akwatijo, after 'a long absence. Akwalejo, to a stranger. Akurajo, to

[1] Mariner, vol. ii. p. 142.
[2] Hale's U.S. Expl. Exp., p. 286.
[3] Nineteen Years in Polynesia, p. 340.
[4] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 39.
[5] Burton's Abeokuta, vol. i. p. 113.

'one in distress. Akujiko, to one sitting. Akudardo 'to one standing. Akuta, to one selling. Wolebe (be 'careful), to one met, and so forth. The servile *shash-* '*tanga* or prostration of the Hindus is also a universal 'custom. It is performed in different ways; the most 'general is, after depositing the burden and clapping 'hands once, twice, or thrice, to go on all fours, touch 'the ground with the belly and breast, the forehead 'and both sides of the face successively; kiss the earth, 'half rise up, then pass the left over the right forearm, 'and vice versâ, and finally, after again saluting mother 'Hertha, to stand erect. The performance usually takes 'place once a day on first meeting, but meetings are so 'numerous that at least one hour out of the twenty- 'four must thus be spent by a man about town.'

Livingstone[1] was particularly struck, in passing 'through the village, with the punctiliousness of man- 'ners shown by the Balonda. The inferiors, on meet- 'ing their superiors in the streets, at once drop on 'their knees and rub dust on their arms and chest. 'They continue the salutation of clapping the hands 'until the great ones have passed.' Among the Bedouins it is said that, when friends meet, the compliments rarely last less than ten minutes.

In the religious customs of Tahiti,[2] 'however large 'or costly the sacrifices that had been offered, and 'however near its close the most protracted ceremony 'might be, if the priest omitted or misplaced any word 'in the prayers with which it was always accompanied, 'or if his attention was diverted by any means, so that

[1] Travels in South Africa, p. 296.

[2] Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 157.

'the prayer was hai, or broken, the whole was rendered 'unavailable; he must prepare other victims and repeat 'his prayers over from the commencement.'

In America, the Wild Comanche is greatly offended by any breach of his rules of etiquette, and when Araucanians meet, the compliments generally last at least ten minutes.

Public business, moreover, among uncivilised and semi-civilised peoples is conducted with tedious formality. Thus in Fiji[1] 'old forms are strictly ob- 'served and innovations opposed. An abundance of 'measured clapping of hands and subdued exclamations 'characterise these occasions. Whale's teeth and other 'property are never exchanged or presented without the 'following or similar form: "A! woi! woi! woi! A! '"woi! woi! woi!! A tabua levu! woi! woi! A mudua, '"mudua, mudua!" (clapping).' But little consideration is required to show that this is quite natural. In the absence of writing, evidence of contracts must depend on the testimony of witnesses, and it is necessary, therefore, to avoid all haste which might lead to forgetfulness, and to imprint the ceremony as much as possible on the minds of those present.

Among the Romans an importance was attached to formalities and expressions, which seem to us most excessive. 'Celui,' for instance, says Ortolan, 'qui 'dira vignes (vites) parce qu'il plaide sur des vignes, 'au lieu de dire arbores, terme sacramental de la loi, 'perdra son procès.'[2] Under the Emperors, however, this strictness was considerably relaxed.[3]

[1] Williams' Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 28.

[2] Ortolan's Justinian, vol. i. p. 519.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 354.

Passing on to the question of property, 'La première 'loi,' says Goguet,[1] 'qu'on aura établie, aura été pour 'assigner et assurer à chaque habitant une certaine 'quantité de terrain.'

The same view has been taken by other writers. It does not, however, appear that property in land implies, or necessarily arose from, agriculture. On the contrary, it exists even in hunting communities. Usually, indeed, during the hunting stage, property in land is tribal, not individual. The North American Indians seem, as a general rule, to have had no individual property in land. It appears, therefore, at first sight, remarkable that among the Australians,[2] who are in most respects so much lower in the scale, 'every male has some portion 'of land, of which he can always point out the exact 'boundaries. These properties are subdivided by a 'father among his sons during his own lifetime and 'descend in almost hereditary succession. A man can 'dispose of or barter his lands to others, but a female 'never inherits, nor has primogeniture among the sons 'any peculiar rights or advantages.' Nay, more than this, there are some tracts of land, peculiarly rich in gum, &c., over which, at the period when the gum is in season, numerous families have an acknowledged right, although they are not allowed to come there at other times.[3] Even the water of the rivers is claimed as property by some of the Australian tribes. 'Trespass for the purpose of 'hunting' is in Australia regarded as a capital offence, and is when possible punished with death.[4]

[1] *Loc. cit.*

[2] Eyre, Discoveries in Australia, vol. ii. p. 297. See also Lang in Grey's Australia, vol. ii. p. 232.

[3] Grey's Australia, vol. ii. p. 298.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 236.

The explanation seems to be that the Redskins depended mainly on the larger game, while the Australians fed on opossums, reptiles, insects, roots, &c. The Redskin, therefore, if land had been divided into individual allotments, might have been starved in the vicinity of abundance; while the Australian could generally obtain food on his own property.

Among the tribes of the Zambesi, according to Livingstone, if a hunter follows a wounded elephant and kills it on the land of another tribe, the under side of the animal belongs to that tribe, and the hunter must not begin to cut it up until some representative of the landowners is present to see that the division is fairly made.

In Polynesia,[1] wherever cultivation was carefully attended to, as in Tahiti, 'every portion of land has its 'respective owner; and even the distinct trees on the 'land had sometimes different proprietors, and a tree 'and the land it grew on different owners.'

The forms of land tenure in different parts of the world are indeed extraordinarily diverse, and some of the rules are very curious. For instance, the United States Consul at Sivas, in Asia Minor, in a recent report (1888) on his district describes the various tenures of land, and, finally, one called *merat*, which is determined in a manner truly Oriental. It relates to small pieces of State lands situated between the boundaries of villages. The theory of this species of tenure is that the pasture or common land of a village should not extend more than a certain distance, so that quarrels with the neighbour-

[1] Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 362. Dieffenbach, vol. ii. p. 114.

ing villages may be avoided. This limit is ascertained in this way. One of the villagers, standing on the steps or minarets of the mosque, calls out at the top of his voice. The point beyond which his voice cannot be heard is the limit of the village property and common pasturage. At the neighbouring village the same performance is gone through, and the land between the two points is *mevat*, and belongs to the State.[1]

In some of the wilder parts of Switzerland the peasant goes up over night to the patches of hay on precipitous places to which cows cannot climb, and at sunrise on Jacob's day (old style) shouts out his name. If no one answers, the hay is his ; if on the contrary any one replies, they divide it between them.[2]

Even an agricultural condition does not necessarily require *individual* property in land ; on the contrary, we find evidences in so many countries of the existence of village communities, holding land in common, that there seems strong reason to suppose that in the history of human progress the individual property in land was always preceded by a period in which moveable property alone was individual, while the land was common.[3]

Tacitus mentions that among the ancient Germans the arable lands were occupied in turns,[4] and Cæsar[5] states that the magistrates lotted out the lands, changing the allotment each year.

In New Zealand there were three distinct tenures of land :[6] viz. by the tribe, by the family, and by the

[1] The Times, February 13, 1888.

[2] Christ, Das Pflanzenleben der Schwyz, p. 311.

[3] Faucher, in Systems of Land Tenure, p. 362, *et seq.*

[4] Germania, xxvi.

[5] De Bello Gallico, xxii.

[6] Taylor's New Zealand and its Inhabitants, p. 384.

individual. The common rights of a tribe were often very extensive, and complicated by intermarriages. Children, as soon as they were born, had a right to a share of the family property. Shortland, however, states 'that the head of the family had a recognised 'right to dispose of his property among his male off-'spring and kinsmen.'[1] Probably on these points the custom was not the same in all the tribes.

M. de Laveleye has described similar communities in Java, and M. Renan among certain Semitic tribes in Northern Africa.[2]

In some cases, land was private property for a portion of the year,[3] and belonged to the community for the remainder. Thus our 'Lammas Lands' were so called, because they were private property until Lammas day (August 1), by which time the crops were supposed to be gathered in; after which period they were subject to common rights of pasturage till the spring. These meadows were seldom manured, and, as the portions assigned were often exceedingly small, it was difficult to retain the exact boundaries during the joint occupation of the land; it was therefore most convenient to make a fresh partition each year.

Throughout India we still find the system of village communities, holding the land in common,[4] with, in some cases, periodical division.[5]

[1] Shortland's Traditions, &c., of the New Zealanders, p. 273.

[2] Early History of Institutions, p. 77.

[3] Nasse, On the Agric. Comm. of the Middle Ages. Pub. by the Cobden Club, 1871. See also Seebohm, The English Village Community.

[4] Maine's Village Communities in the East and West. Phear, The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon.

[5] Tupper, Bengal Customary Law, vol. iii. p. 139.

In some parts of Russia, 'after the expiration of a 'given, but not in all cases of the same, period, separate 'ownerships are extinguished, the land of the village is 'thrown into a mass, and then it is re-distributed among 'the families composing the community, according to 'their number. This re-partition having been effected, 'the rights of families and of individuals are again 'allowed to branch out into various lines, which they 'continue to follow till another period of division comes 'round.'[1] That a similar state of things formerly existed in Ireland is indicated in the Brehon laws.

It is stated to have been a principle of the earliest Sclavonian laws that the property of families could not be divided for a perpetuity. Even now, in parts of Servia, Croatia, and Austrian Sclavonia, the entire land is cultivated by the villagers and the produce is annually divided.

In Mexico certain lands called 'Altapeltalli' belonged to the district, and were inalienable.

In Peru, again, the land belonged to the State, and every year a fresh allotment took place, an additional portion being granted for every child; the amount allowed for a son being twice as much as for a daughter.[2]

Diodorus Siculus informs us that the Celtiberians divided their land annually among individuals, to be cultivated for the use of the public; and that the product was stored up and distributed from time to time among the necessitous.[3]

[1] Maine's Ancient Law, p. 267.

[2] Wuttke's Ges. der Menschheit, vol. i. p. 328; Prescott, vol. i. p. 44. A somewhat different account is given by Polo de Ondegardo, Rites and Laws of the Incas, p. 162.

[3] Lord Kames' History of Man, vol. i. p. 93.

It does not necessarily follow that property in land involves the power of sale. 'We are too apt,' says Campbell,[1] 'to forget that property in land, as a trans-'ferable mercantile commodity, absolutely owned and 'passing from hand to hand like any chattel, is not an 'ancient institution, but a modern development, reached 'only in a few very advanced countries.' 'It may be 'said,' he adds,[2] 'of all landed tenures in India pre-'vious to our rule, that they were practically not trans-'ferable by sale, and that only certain classes of the 'better defined claims were to some extent transferable 'by mortgage. The seizure and sale of land for private 'debt were wholly and utterly unknown—such an idea 'had never entered into the native imagination.' So also the sale of land was forbidden in some parts of Greece, among some of the Teutonic, Slavonic, and Celtic tribes, as also among the Mayas of Yucatan and Nicaragua.[3]

In Leviticus it is enacted that 'The land shall not 'be sold for ever.'[4]

In the Fiji Islands 'land was in the nature of a 'strictly entailed estate,' and no one could alienate, under any circumstances, more than his own life interest.[5]

In Egypt, when a Fellah borrowed on his land he was held to have pledged the produce only, and under the old law no creditor could compel a debtor to sell the land itself.[6]

Still less does the possession of land necessarily imply

[1] Systems of Land Tenure, p. 151.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 171.

[3] Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 652.

[4] Leviticus xxv. 23.

[5] Mem. by Governor Sir A. Gordon, Correspondence relative to Land Claims in Fiji, 1883.

[6] Report on Egypt by Mr. V. Stuart, Parl. Paper, C. 3554. 1883.

the power of testamentary disposition, and we find as a matter of fact that the will is a legal process of very late origin.

In many cases it seems to be held that the title to property ceases with the life of the owner.

It is stated that formerly, when a Greenlander died, if he had no grown-up children, his property was regarded as having no longer an owner, and every one took what he chose, or at least what he could get, without the slightest regard to the wretched widow or children.[1]

Ellis makes a similar statement as regards the Hawaiians.[2] In the Fiji Islands, on Vanua Levu, 'for 'some days after the decease of a ruling chief, if his 'death be known to the people, the wildest anarchy 'prevails. The "subject tribes" rush into the chief 'town, kill pigs and fowls, snatch any property they 'can lay their hands on, set fire to houses, and play all 'manner of mischievous pranks, the townsfolk offering 'no resistance.'[3] It would seem, however, to be only the chief's own property which is liable to attacks.[4]

I have already mentioned (*ante*, p. 404) the state of entire lawlessness which exists in parts of Africa and in some of the Polynesian Islands between the death of one ruler and the election of his successor.

'Even in our own country down to the reign of John, 'offences committed during the interregnum, or period 'elapsing between the day of the death of the last monarch 'and the recognition of his successor, were unpunishable 'in those tribunals whose authority was derived from the

[1] Crantz's Hist. of Greenland, vol. i. p. 192.

[2] Ellis, Polynesian Researches, 2nd edit. vol. iv. p. 177.

[3] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 187.

[4] Fison, Jour. Anthr. Inst., vol. x. p. 140.

'Crown.'[1] This continued, indeed, to be the case for nearly a century afterwards, when it was put an end to by the legal fiction that the king never dies.

The early history of wills is indeed most interesting. Sir H. Maine, in his excellent work on Ancient Law, points out that the essence of a will, as now understood, is—firstly, that it should take effect at death ; secondly, that it may be secret ; and, thirdly, that it is revocable. Yet even in Roman law wills acquired these characteristics but slowly and gradually, and in the earlier stages of civilisation wills were generally unknown.

In Athens, the power of willing was introduced by Solon ; only, however, in cases when a person died childless. In Sparta wills were not legal until after the Peloponnesian war.[2] The Barbarians on the north of the Roman empire were, says Maine,[3] 'confessedly 'strangers to any such conception as that of a Will. 'The best authorities agree that there is no trace of it 'in those parts of their written codes which comprise 'the customs practised by them in their original seats, 'and in their subsequent settlement on the edge of the 'Roman Empire.' And again, in studying the ancient German laws, 'one result has invariably disclosed 'itself—that the ancient nucleus of the code contains 'no trace of a will.'[4]

The Hindoos were also entire strangers to the will.[5]

It is therefore very remarkable that in Australia 'a 'father divides his land during his lifetime, fairly ap- 'portioning it amongst his several sons, and at as early

[1] Stubbs, Constitutional History of England, vol. i. pp. 182, 513.

[2] La cité antique, p. 88.

[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 172.

[4] *Loc. cit.* p. 196.

[5] Maine's Ancient Law, p. 193. Campbell in Systems of Land Tenure, p. 177.

'an age as fourteen or fifteen they can point out the 'portion which they are eventually to inherit.'[1]

Again, in Tahiti, the system of willing is said to have been (I presume when there were no children) in full force,[2] 'not only with reference to land but to any other kind 'of property. Unacquainted with letters, they could not 'leave a written will; but, during a season of illness, 'those possessing property frequently called together 'the members of the family or confidential friends, 'and to them gave directions for the disposal of their 'effects after their decease.'

For the modern will, however, we are mainly indebted to the Romans, and they only arrived at it by a slow and tortuous process. At first, indeed, Roman wills, if so they may be called, were neither secret, deferred, nor revocable. On the contrary, they were made in public, before not less than five witnesses; they took effect at once, and were irrevocable.

It seems probable that in the first instance the power of willing was only recognised when there were no sons. The Romans devoutly believed that the spirits of their fathers hovered round the household hearth and fed on the ghosts of the food offered up to them. These offerings the son alone would or could make. Hence in the absence of a true son, it was of great importance to secure one by some other process. This seems to have been the original object of the will; the inheritance following as a natural consequence. But as this imposed various duties on the heir—one being to pay all the debts of the deceased, even when there was no pro-

[1] Eyre's Australia, vol. ii. p. 236.

[2] Ellis, Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 362.

perty to meet them—the solemn consent of the heir was required, and most elaborate formalities were prescribed. If none of the heirs named in the will would accept the office, the whole will became null and void. That the original object of the will was to create a son, explains also the fact that even down to the time of Hadrian a will was rendered invalid when a 'posthumus suus' arose—*i.e.* when a son was born after the will was made.

There was, moreover, another reason which gave great importance to the will. For various reasons it would be the wish of the father to emancipate his favourite sons ; but as soon as this was effected they ceased to belong to the family, and could not consequently inherit as heirs at law. On the death of a Roman citizen, in the absence of a will, the property descended to the unemancipated children, and after them to the nearest grade of the agnatic kindred. Hence, the same feeling which induced a Roman to emancipate his sons impelled him also to make a will, for, if he did not, emancipation involved disinheritance.

The testamentary forms remained extremely complex even down to the latest times of the Roman Empire, but the inconvenience was to a great extent obviated by the invention of the 'codicil.'

In the absence of wills, the interests of the children were in some cases secured by customs resembling those of the Russian village communities, or 'Mirs,' in which children have a right to their share as soon as they are born. Nor are such rights confined to communal properties. In some countries the children have a vested right to a portion of their father's estate.

Here, therefore, in the absence of children, the will is replaced by adoption.

Among the Hindoos, 'the instant a son is born[1] he 'acquires a vested right in his father's property, which 'cannot be sold without recognition of his joint-owner-'ship. On the son's attaining full age, he can some-'times compel a partition of the estate, even against 'the consent of the parent; and, should the parent 'acquiesce, one son can always have a partition even 'against the will of the others. On such partition 'taking place, the father has no advantage over his 'children, except that he has two of the shares instead 'of one. The ancient law of the German tribes was 'exceedingly similar. The Allod or domain of the 'family was the joint property of the father and his 'sons.'

Among the Mukkuvas of Ceylon,[2] when a woman dies, the right of dominion descends to her daughters in equal shares, or if any of them are dead, to their representatives, per stirpes, but on the other hand the right of possession goes to the sons, per capita. The children of sons who may have predeceased her do not take any share in the possession. On the other hand, the enjoyment of land passes from a man to his surviving brothers, and after their death to their sisters. These laws seem to have arisen from the rule that the sale of land was not permitted, and that, as men marry out of their 'kudi' or clan, and that as land could not be removed, a man when he left his 'kudi' on marriage left the land behind him. If a woman has been twice married, any property which she may have inherited

[1] Maine's Ancient Law, p. 228. [2] Brito, The Mukkuva Law, p. 30.

from her mother goes to the children by the first marriage; while, if a man leaves children by more than one marriage, the children of each marriage get a portion equal to what they would have got if a division of the property had been made immediately after the dissolution of the marriage from which they sprang. Here again, therefore, on the birth of children, their parents become in some respects trustees on their behalf.[1]

According to ancient German law, also, children were co-proprietors with their father, and the family property could not be parted with except by general consent.

This probably explains the remarkable custom that in many parts of Polynesia the son was considered of higher rank than the father; and that in some cases—as, for instance, in the Marquesas and in Tahiti—the king abdicated as soon as a son was born to him; while landowners under similar circumstances lost the fee-simple of their land, and became mere trustees for the infant possessors.[2]

The Basutos have a strict system of primogeniture, and, even during the father's life, the eldest son has considerable power both over the property and the younger children.[3]

The same system, in combination with inheritance through females, is also in full force in Fiji, where it is known as Vasu. The word means a nephew or niece, 'but becomes a title of office in the case of the 'male, who in some localities has the extraordinary

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 24.

[2] Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. pp. 346, 347; Waitz, Anthr., vol. vi. pp. 210, 215, 219.

[3] Casalis' Basutos, p. 179.

'privilege of appropriating whatever he chooses belonging to his uncle, or those under his uncle's power.'[1] This is one of the most remarkable parts of Fiji despotism. 'However high a chief may be, if he has 'a nephew he has a master,' and resistance is rarely thought of. Thakonauto, while at war with his uncle, actually supplied himself with ammunition from his uncle's stores.

Perhaps also the curious custom of naming the father after the child may have originated from some such regulation. Thus in Australia,[2] when a man's eldest child is named, the father takes 'the name of the 'child, Kadlitpinna, the father of Kadli; the mother 'is called Kadlingangki, the mother of Kadli, from 'ngangki, a female or woman.' This custom seems very general throughout the continent. Among the Bechuanas of South Africa also 'the parents take the 'name of the child.' Mrs. Livingstone's eldest boy being 'named Robert, she was, after his birth, always called 'Ma-Robert,' the mother of Robert.[3] Dr. Callaway also mentions the existence of this custom among the Kaffirs, suggesting that as a woman must not pronounce her husband's name, she might naturally come to address him as 'father of so-and-so.'[4] In Madagascar also parents often take the name of their eldest child.[5]

In Sumatra 'the father,'[6] in many parts of the coun-

[1] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. i. p. 34.

[2] Eyre, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 325.

[3] Livingstone's Travels in South Africa, p. 126.

[4] Callaway, Religious System of the Amazulu, p. 316.

[5] Sibree's Madagascar and its People, p. 198.

[6] Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 286.

'try, particularly in Passum-mah, is distinguished by 'the name of his first child, as "Pa-ladin," or "Pa- '"Rindu," Pa for bapa, signifying "the father of," 'and loses, in this acquired, his own proper, name. 'The women never change the name given them at the 'time of their birth; yet frequently they are called 'through courtesy, from their eldest child, "Ma si ano," 'the mother of such an one; but rather as a polite 'description than a name.' In the Andaman Islands also the father and mother take the name of the child.[1]

'Among the Kutchin of North America[2] the father 'takes his name from his son or daughter, not the son 'from the father as with us. The father's name is 'formed by the addition of the word "tee" to the 'end of the son's name; for instance, Que-ech-et may 'have a son and call him Sah-neu. The father is 'now called Sah-neu-tee, and the former name of 'Que-ech-et is forgotten.' The same custom occurs in Guatemala.[3]

As a general rule property descends to the eldest son, or is divided between all; but in some cases the youngest son inherits the property. Thus Duhalde mentions that this is the rule among the Tartars, giving as a reason that the elder ones, as they reach manhood, leave the paternal tent, and take with them the quantity of cattle which their father chooses to give them. Arbousset mentions that, according to Kaffir law, the successor to a chief must be chosen from among the

[1] Man. Journ. Anthr. Inst., 1882, p. 129.

[2] Jones, Smithsonian Report, 1866, p. 326.

[3] Bancroft, *loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 680.

younger sons, the two eldest being ineligible.[1] In Northern Australia, according to Macgillivray,[2] both sexes share alike, but the youngest child receives the largest portion. The same is said to be the case in parts of New Zealand. It also occurs among the Kanets of the Punjab.[3] Dr. Anderson states that the youngest son inherits the largest portion among the Shans and Kakhyens of Western Yunan.[4] A similar custom existed among the Mrus of the Arrawak hills;[5] it prevailed in Germany as well as Picardy and Artois, where it was known as Maineté, *i.e.* minor natu, and even in some districts of our own country, under the name Borough English.[6]

There are also cases, as, for instance, among the Hindoos, in which the rule of primogeniture is followed as regards office or power politically, but not with reference to property.

The Singphos[7] 'have a peculiar custom. The eldest 'takes the landed estate with the titles, the youngest 'the personalties; the intermediate brethren, when any 'exist, are excluded from all participation, and remain 'in attendance on the chief or head of the family as 'during the lifetime of their father.'

As regards the punishment of crime we find that, among the lower races of men the chiefs scarcely take any cognisance of offences, unless they relate to such things as directly concern, or are supposed to

[1] Tour to the N.E. of the Cape of Good Hope, p. 149.

[2] Voyage of H.M.S. 'Rattlesnake,' vol. ii. p. 28.

[3] Tupper, Punjab Customary Law, p. 192.

[4] Expedition to Western Yunan, pp. 117, 131.

[5] Lewin's Hill Tracts of Chittagong, p. 194.

[6] Wren Hoskyns in Customs of Land Tenure, p. 104.

[7] Dalton's Des. Ethn. of Bengal, p. 13.

concern, the interests of the community generally. As regards private injuries, every one must protect or avenge himself. The administration of justice, says Du Tertre,[1] 'among the Caribbians is not exercised by 'the captain, nor by any magistrate ; but, as it is among 'the Tapinambous, he who thinks himself injured gets 'such satisfaction of his adversary as he thinks fit, 'according as his passion dictates to him or his strength 'permits him. The public does not concern itself at all 'in the punishment of criminals ; and if any one among 'them suffers an injury or affront, without endeavour-'ing to revenge himself, he is slighted by all the rest.'

In Ancient Greece there were no officers whose duty it was to prosecute criminals.[2] Even in the case of murder, the State did not take the initiative ; this was left to the family of the sufferer, nor was the accused placed under arrest until he was found guilty. Hence the criminal usually fled as soon as he found himself likely to be condemned.

Among the North American Indians,[3] if a man is murdered, 'the family of the deceased only have the 'right of taking satisfaction ; they collect, consult, and 'decree. The rulers of a town or of the nation have 'nothing to do or say in the business.' Indeed, it would seem that the object of legal regulations was at first not so much to punish the offender as to restrain and mitigate the vengeance inflicted by the aggrieved party. The duty of revenge might also tend to diminish crime.

[1] History of the Caribby Islands, p. 316. Labat also makes a very similar statement, Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique, vol. ii. p. 83. Azara, Voy. dans l'Amér. Min., vol. ii. p. 16.

[2] Goguet, vol. ii. p. 69.

[3] Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., vol. i. p. 281.

We find the vendetta as a recognised custom not only in Africa, but among Semitic races, as the Jews and Arabs; in Europe among the Celts, Teutons, and Slavs, in Montenegro and Greece, in the Caucasus, among the Afghans, and in India, in Siam, among the Polynesians and Malays, and in America. Originally, no doubt, the liability to revenge was not confined to the actual offender, but extended to his whole family.

From this point of view the old theory was that the two parties invoked the arbitration of the civil power, and unless they did so the State had no right to act. Hence probably the importance attached to the pleading of the prisoner; if he refused to plead, theoretically the court could not interfere; hence force and sometimes even torture were used to compel him to do so. Ultimately silence was construed as equivalent to a plea of not guilty.

By degrees the right of revenge was limited in various ways, especially as to those by whom it may be exercised, those on whom it may be exercised, the injuries for which it can be inflicted, and the extent to which punishment ought to be extended. Obvious convenience led also in some cases to the recognition of certain occasions on which it was unlawful to revenge injuries, as for instance during particular feasts, at certain recognised markets, during marriage festivities, &c. In other cases, as amongst the Jews, cities of refuge were established.

The amount of legal revenge, if I may so call it, is often strictly regulated, even where we should least expect to find such limitations. Thus in Western Aus-

tralia,[1] crimes 'may be compounded by the criminal 'appearing and committing himself to the ordeal of 'having spears thrown at him by all such persons as 'conceive themselves to have been aggrieved.' So strictly is the amount of punishment limited that if, in inflicting such spear wounds, a man, either through carelessness or from any other cause exceeded the recognised limits—if, for instance, he wounded the femoral artery—he would in his turn become liable to punishment. This custom does not appear to exist in South Australia, but it also occurs in New South Wales.[2]

Mr. Farrar states that in Afghanistan, where an assembly of the elders act as 'the judges of the people, a 'show is always made of delivering up the criminal to 'the accuser, and of giving the latter the chance of re-'taliating, though it is perfectly understood that he must 'comply with the wishes of the assembly.'[3]

Such cases as these seem to throw great light on the origin of the idea of property. Possession de facto needs, of course, no explanation. When, however, any rules were laid down regulating the amount or mode of vengeance which might be taken in revenge for disturbance; or when the chief thought it worth while himself to settle disputes about possession, and thus, while increasing his own dignity, to check quarrels which might be injurious to the general interests of the tribe, the natural effect would be to develop the idea of mere possession into that of property.

In the earlier stages of human development no

[1] Sir G. Grey's Australia, vol. ii. p. 243.

[2] Eyre's Exp. into Central Australia, vol. ii. p. 389.

[3] Primitive Manners and Customs, p. 7.

distinction seems to have been drawn between crimes and injuries. Any harm done, whether intentional or not, was resented and revenged either by the sufferer himself or his clan. Hence, in so many cases, any crime, even murder, might be atoned for by the payment of such a sum of money as satisfied the representatives of the murdered man. This payment was proportioned to the injury done, and had no relation to the crime as a crime. Hence, as the injury was the same whether the death was accidental or designed, so also was the penalty. Hence our word 'pay,' which comes from the Latin 'Pacare,' to appease or pacify.

Among the Kaffirs,[1] for instance, 'the law makes no 'distinction between a murder from malice or fore-'thought, or from one committed on the impulse of the 'moment or in revenge for the blood of a relative. 'A man is punished for taking the law into his own 'hands, and in no case is he justified in doing so, 'even in a case of retaliation.' On the other hand, 'the 'law does not appear to demand compensation for 'what is clearly proved to be a purely accidental injury 'to *property*, although it will do so in accidental injuries 'to the *persons* of individuals, if the injury is of a serious 'nature, as the latter would come under the head of 'criminal cases, and therefore could only be overlooked 'or the fine remitted by the chief himself.'[2] Among the Bogos and Barens also death is avenged, no matter to what cause it may be due.

The Romans, on the contrary, based any claim for compensation on the existence of a 'culpa;' and hence

[1] Kaffir Laws and Customs, p. 110. See also p. 60.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 67. See also p. 113.

laid it down that where there had been no 'culpa,' no action for reparation could lie. This led to very inconvenient consequences. Thus, as Lord Kames[1] has pointed out, if a ship were driven by the violence of a tempest among the anchor ropes of another ship and the sailors cut the ropes, having no other means of getting free, they would not be liable for the damage. The Aquilian law must be understood to apply only to such damage as carries the idea of an injury along with it, unless such injury has not been wilfully done, but from necessity. 'Thus Celsus puts the case of a 'person who, to stop the progress of a fire pulls down his 'neighbour's house; and whether the fire had reached 'that house which is pulled down, or was extinguished 'before it got to it, in neither case, he thinks, will an 'action be competent from the Aquilian law.'

It would, however, appear that, even in Roman law, the opposite and more usual principle originally prevailed. This is indicated, for instance, by the great difference in the penalties imposed by ancient laws on offenders caught in the act, and those only detected afterwards. In the old Roman law, as in that of some other countries, thieves were divided into manifest and non-manifest. The manifest thief, who was caught in the act, or at any rate with the stolen goods still in his possession, became, according to the law of the twelve tables, the slave of the person robbed, or, if he were already a slave, was put to death. The non-manifest thief, on the other hand, was only liable to return double the value of the goods he had stolen. Subsequently, the very severe punishment in the case of the

[1] History of Man, vol. iv. p. 34.

manifest thief was mitigated, but he was still forced to pay four times the value of what he had stolen, or twice as much as a non-manifest thief.

The same principle was followed by the North American Indians.[1] Again, in the German and Anglo-Saxon codes, a thief caught in the act might be killed on the spot. Thus the law followed the old principles of private vengeance, and in settling the amount of punishment took as a guide the measure of revenge likely to be taken by an aggrieved person under the circumstances of the case.[2]

In the South Sea Islands, according to Williams,[3] cases of theft were seldom brought before the king or chiefs, but the people avenged their own injuries. The rights of retaliation, however, had almost a legal force, for 'although the party thus plundered them, they 'would not attempt to prevent the seizure: had they 'done so, the population of the district would have 'assisted those who, according to the established cus-'tom, were thus punishing the aggressors. Such was 'the usual method resorted to for punishing the petty 'thefts committed among themselves.'

That crimes were originally regarded as injuries to the sufferer only, naturally led, in many cases, to the substitution of fines for bodily punishments. Thus, among the Anglo-Saxons the 'wehrgeld,' or fine for injuries, was evidently a substitute for personal vengeance. Every part of the body had a recognised value, even the teeth, nails, and hair. Nay, the value assigned to the latter

[1] Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., vol. i. p. 285.

[2] See Maine, *loc. cit.* p. 378.

[3] Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. pp. 369, 372.

was proportionately very high ; the loss of the beard being estimated at twenty shillings, while the breaking of a thigh was only fixed at twelve. In other cases also the effect on personal appearance seems to have carried great weight, for the loss of a front tooth was estimated at six shillings, while the fracture of a rib was only fixed at three. In the case of a slave, the fine was paid to the owner.

The amount varied according to the rank of the person injured. All society below the royal family and the Ealdorman was divided into three classes; the Tywhind man, or Ceorl, was estimated at 200 shillings according to the laws of Mercia ; the Sixhind man at 600 shillings, while the death of a royal Thane was estimated at 1,200 shillings.[1]

A similar system of fines was also provided for in ancient Roman law.[2]

In some cases the fine varied according to age. Thus among the Goths the Wehrgeld gradually increased up to the age of fifty, after which it again diminished. It is a curious illustration of manners to find that women were valued at much less, and that in their case the price commenced to diminish after forty. The Siamese have a similar arrangement, but in their case the maximum is fixed at forty for a man, and thirty for a woman.

In other cases the sum payable depends on the rank of the aggressor. These cases are of two classes, sometimes, as under certain Mongol and Merovingian laws, the sum payable increases with the rank, obviously

[1] Hume, p. 74. Hallam, Cons. Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 272.

[2] Ortolan, Expl. Hist. des Inst. de l'Emp. Justinien, p. 114.

because the fine is supposed to fall more heavily on the poor than on the rich.

In some cases, however, the reverse is the case, because it is supposed to be a greater offence to injure a superior than an inferior.

In Ireland a composition or fine was admitted for murder 'instead of capital punishment; and this was 'divided, as in other countries, between the kindred of 'the slain and the judge,'[1] down to a comparatively late period.

Among the Kutchins of Yukon river (N. W. America) all crimes, even murder, may be compounded for; and the same is the case among the Nootka Indians.[2]

Among the Hill tribes of North Aracan, 'all offences 'or injuries are remedied by fine,' the amount of which is fixed by long custom, and always rigorously demanded.[3] The Karens permitted all offences against the person, however heinous, to be commutable by fine.[4]

Among the Kirghiz the family of a murdered man are at liberty to compound with the murderer for a certain payment in horses, &c. A woman or a child count for half as much as a man. There is also a scale of compensation for injuries; 100 sheep for a thumb, twenty for a little finger, and so on.[5]

So also among the Kaffirs,[6] 'as banishment, im-'prisonment, and corporal punishment are all unknown 'in Kaffir jurisprudence, the property of the people

[1] Hallam, *loc. cit.* vol. iii. pp. 341, 357.

[2] Bancroft, *loc. cit.* pp. 130, 194.

[3] St. John, Journ. Anthrop. Institute, 1872, p. 240.

[4] M'Mahon, Karens of the Golden Chersonese, p. 84.

[5] Des. de toutes les Nat. de l'Emp. de Russie, part i. p. 148.

[6] Kaffir Laws and Customs, p. 36.

'constitutes the great fund out of which the debts of 'justice are paid.' The fines, however, thus levied, were paid to the chief.[1] The principle is, that a man's goods are his own property, but his person is the property of the chief. A man who is injured, therefore, however severely, derives no benefit from the fine. Their proverb is, 'No man can eat his own blood.'

In other cases when the idea was recognised that a crime and an injury were two essentially different things, we find that two fines were inflicted, as, for instance, in ancient Wales, where the 'galanas' went to the family as a compensation, and the 'saraad' to the State. In some cases a galanas became due, in some a saraad; while in others both were inflicted.

What has been above said with reference to crime applies especially to men. Women stand often in a totally different position. Our own law recognises very properly that a wife acting under the influence of her husband cannot justly be punished as if she were a free agent. But among various races, as we have seen, every woman is under the control of some man, if not of her husband, of the head of her family. Hence perhaps the uncomplimentary, and to our ears ambiguous, saying of the Bogos, that 'a woman is a Hyæna.'[2]

As regards personal injuries, we find the Lex talionis prevalent in a certain state of society all over the world. An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, undeniably constitutes a certain rough justice.

The system of 'outlawing,' which also we find very general among mankind, is not only natural in the absence of prisons or of any effective policy, but is

[1] *Ibid.* p. 35. [2] Munzinger, Sitten und Recht der Bogos, S. 60, N. 117.

primarily, perhaps, due to the joint responsibility of the family or clan ; a responsibility from which, in the case of a dangerous member, they can only free themselves by some such process.

As regards theft and robbery, we often find, as we should expect, that robbery from another family or clan is in some cases looked on not only as no fault, but even as a merit. In the old Chinese law there was a regular gradation of the fine imposed, decreasing as the relationship of the thief to the person robbed diminished.

Again, the theft is very differently regarded according to the habits of the race. For instance, among a pastoral people, cattle-lifting was often regarded as especially criminal ; while among agricultural races the robbery or injury of crops was punished with extra severity.

Perjury we often find is among the lower races not a punishable offence. This at first sight remarkable fact arises no doubt from the consideration that it is a sin against the Gods, who are therefore left to avenge themselves.

The severity of early codes, and the uniformity in the amounts of punishment which characterises them, is probably due to the same cause. An individual who felt himself aggrieved would not weigh very philosophically the amount of punishment which he was entitled to inflict ; and no doubt when in any community some chief, in advance of his time, endeavoured to substitute public law for private vengeance, his object would be to induce those who had cause of complaint to apply to the law for redress, rather than to avenge themselves ; which of course would not be the

case if the penalty allotted by the law was much less than that which custom would allow them to inflict for themselves.

Subsequently, when punishment was substituted for pecuniary compensation, the same rule was at first applied, and the distinction of intention was overlooked. Nay, so long had the importance of intention been disregarded, that although it is now recognised in our criminal courts, yet, as Mr. Bain points out,[1] 'a moral 'stigma is still attached to intellectual error by many 'people, and even by men of cultivation.'

In this, as in so many of our other ideas and tastes, we are still influenced by the condition of our ancestors in bygone ages. What that condition was I have in this work attempted to indicate, believing as I do that the earlier mental stages through which the human race has passed are illustrated by the condition of existing, or recent, savages. The history of the human race has, I feel satisfied, on the whole been one of progress. I do not of course mean to say that every race is necessarily advancing: on the contrary, most of the lower ones are almost stationary, and there are, no doubt, cases in which nations have fallen back; but it seems an almost invariable rule that such races are dying out, while those which are stationary in condition are stationary in numbers also; on the other hand, improving nations increase in numbers, so that they always encroach on less progressive races.

In conclusion, then, while I do not mean for a moment to deny that there are cases in which nations have retrograded, I regard these as exceptional instances.

[1] Mental and Moral Science, p. 718.

The facts and arguments mentioned in this work afford, I think, strong grounds for the following conclusions, namely:—

That existing savages are not the descendants of civilised ancestors.

That the primitive condition of man was one of utter barbarism.

That from this condition various races have independently raised themselves.

These views follow, I think, from strictly scientific considerations. We shall not be the less inclined to adopt them on account of the cheering prospects which they hold out for the future.

In the closing chapter of 'Prehistoric Times,' while fully admitting the charms of savage life, I have endeavoured to point out the immense advantages which we enjoy. Here I will only add that if the past history of man has been one of deterioration, we have but a groundless expectation of future improvement: on the other hand, if the past has been one of progress, we may fairly hope that the future will be so too; that the blessings of civilisation will not only be extended to other countries and to other nations, but that even in our own land they will be rendered more general and more equable; so that we shall not see before us always, as now, countrymen of our own living, in our very midst, a life worse than that of a savage; neither enjoying the rough advantages and real, though rude, pleasures of savage life, nor yet availing themselves of the far higher and more noble opportunities which lie within the reach of civilised Man.

APPENDIX.

ON THE PRIMITIVE CONDITION OF MAN.

PART I.

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF A PAPER READ BEFORE THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AT DUNDEE.

SIDE by side with the different opinions as to the origin of man, there are two opposite views with reference to the primitive condition of the first men, of first beings worthy to be so called. Many writers have considered that man was at first a mere savage, and that the course of history has on the whole been a progress towards civilisation; though at times —and at some times for centuries—some races have been stationary, or even have retrograded. Other authors, of no less eminence, have taken a diametrically opposite view. According to them, man was, from the commencement, pretty much what he is at present; if possible, even more ignorant of the arts and sciences than now, but with mental qualities not inferior to our own. Savages they consider to be the degenerate descendants of far superior ancestors. Of the recent supporters of this theory, the late Archbishop of Dublin was amongst the most eminent.

Dr. Whately enunciates his opinions in the following words: [1]—

'We have no reason to believe that any community ever 'did or ever can emerge, unassisted by external helps, from a 'state of utter barbarism unto anything that can be called

[1] Whately's Political Economy, p. 68.

'civilisation.' 'Man has not emerged from the savage state; the 'progress of any community in civilisation, by its own internal 'means, must always have begun from a condition removed from 'that of complete barbarism, out of which it does not appear that 'men ever did or can raise themselves.'

Thus, he adds, 'the ancient Germans, who cultivated corn '—though their agriculture was probably in a very rude 'state—who not only had numerous herds of cattle, but 'employed the labour of brutes, and even made use of cavalry 'in their wars . . . these cannot with propriety be reckoned 'savages; or if they are to be so called (for it is not worth 'while to dispute about a word), then I would admit that, in 'this sense, men may advance, and in fact have advanced, by 'their own unassisted efforts, from the savage to the civilised 'state.' This limitation of the term 'savage' to the very lowest representatives of the human race no doubt renders Dr. Whately's theory more tenable by increasing the difficulty of bringing forward conclusive evidence against it. The Archbishop, indeed, expresses himself throughout his argument as if it would be easy to produce the required evidence in opposition to his theory, supposing that any race of savages ever had raised themselves to a state of civilisation. The manner, however, in which he has treated the case of the Mandans—a tribe of North American Indians—effectually disposes of this hypothesis. This unfortunate people is described as having been decidedly more civilised than those by which they were surrounded. Having, then, no neighbours more advanced than themselves, they were quoted as furnishing an instance of savages who had civilised themselves without external aid. In answer to this, Archbishop Whately asks—

'1st. How do we know that these Mandans were of the same 'race as their neighbours?'

'2ndly. How do we know that theirs is not the original 'level from which the other tribes have fallen?'

'3rdly and lastly. Supposing that the Mandans did emerge 'from the savage state, how do we know that this may not have 'been through the aid of some strangers coming among them—'like the Manco-Capac of Peru—from some more civilised 'country, perhaps long before the days of Columbus?'

Supposing, however, for a moment, and for the sake of argument, that the Mandans, or any other race, were originally savages and had civilised themselves, it would still be manifestly—from the very nature of the case—impossible to bring forward the kind of evidence demanded by Dr. Whately. No doubt he 'may confidently affirm that we find no one *recorded* 'instance of a tribe of savages, properly so styled, rising into 'a civilised state without instruction and assistance from a 'people already civilised.' Starting with the proviso that savages, properly so styled, are ignorant of letters, and laying it down as a condition that no civilised example should be placed before them, the existence of any such record is an impossibility; its very presence would destroy its value. In another passage, Archbishop Whately says, indeed, 'If man 'generally, or some particular race, be capable of self-civilisa-'tion, in either case it may be expected that some record, or 'tradition, or monument of the actual occurrence of such an 'event should be found.' So far from this, the existence of any such record would, according to the very hypothesis itself, be impossible. Traditions are short-lived and untrustworthy. A 'monument' which could prove the actual occurrence of a race capable of self-civilisation I confess myself unable to conceive. What kind of a monument would the Archbishop accept as proving that the people by whom it was made had been originally savages, that they had raised themselves, and had never been influenced by strangers of a superior race?

But, says Archbishop Whately, 'We have accounts of 'various savage tribes, in different parts of the globe, who 'have been visited from time to time at considerable intervals, 'but have had no settled intercourse with civilised people, and 'who appear to continue, as far as can be ascertained, in the 'same uncultivated condition;' and he adduces one case, that of the New Zealanders, who 'seem to have been in quite as 'advanced a state when Tasman discovered the country in '1642 as they were when Cook visited it one hundred and 'twenty-seven years after.' We have been accustomed to see around us an improvement so rapid that we forget how short a period a century is in the history of the human race. Even taking the ordinary chronology, it is evident, that if in 6,000

years a given race has only progressed from a state of utter savagery to the condition of the Australian, we could not expect to find much change in one more century. Many a fishing village, even on our own coast, is in very nearly the same condition as it was one hundred and twenty-seven years ago. Moreover, I might fairly answer that according to Whately's own definition of a savage state, the New Zealanders would certainly be excluded. They cultivated the ground, they had domestic animals, they constructed elaborate fortifications and made excellent canoes, and were certainly not in a state of utter barbarism. Or I might argue that a short visit, like that of Tasman, could give little insight into the true condition of a people. I am, however, the less disposed to question the statement made by Archbishop Whately, because the fact that many races are now practically stationary is, in reality, an argument against the theory of degradation, and not against that of progress. Civilised races are, I believe, the descendants of ancestors who were once in a state of barbarism. On the contrary, argue our opponents, savages are the descendants of civilised nations, and have sunk to their present condition. But Archbishop Whately admits that the civilised races are still rising, while the savages are stationary; and, oddly enough, seems to regard this as an argument in support of the very untenable proposition, that the difference between the two is due, not to the progress of the one set of races—a progress which everyone admits—but to the degradation of those whom he himself maintains to be stationary. The delusion is natural, and like that which everyone must have sometimes experienced in looking out of a train in motion, when the woods and fields seem to be flying from us, whereas we know that in reality we are moving and they are stationary.

But it is argued, 'If man, when first created, was left, like 'the brutes, to the unaided exercise of those natural powers of 'body and mind which are common to the European and to 'the New Hollander, how comes it that the European is not 'now in the condition of the New Hollander?' The answer to this is, I think, the following: In the first place, Australia possesses neither cereals nor any animals which can be domes-

ticated with advantage; and in the second, we find even in the same family—among children of the same parents—the most opposite dispositions; in the same nation there are families of high character, and others in which every member is more or less criminal. But in this case, as in the last, the Archbishop's argument, if good at all, is good against his own view. It is like an Australian boomerang, which recoils upon its owner. The Archbishop believed in the unity of the human race, and argued that man was originally civilised (in a certain sense). 'How comes it, then,' I might ask him, 'that the New 'Hollander is not now in the condition of the European?' In another passage, Archbishop Whately quotes, with approbation, a passage from President Smith, of the College of New Jersey, who says that man, 'cast out an orphan of nature, 'naked and helpless, into the savage forest, must have perished 'before he could have learned how to supply his most imme-'diate and urgent wants. Supposing him to have been created, 'or to have started into being one knows not how, in the full 'strength of his bodily powers, how long must it have been 'before he could have known the proper use of his limbs, or 'how to apply them to climb the tree!' &c. &c. Exactly the same, however, might be said of the gorilla or the chimpanzee, which certainly are not the degraded descendants of civilised ancestors.

Having thus very briefly considered the arguments brought forward by Archbishop Whately, I will proceed to state, also very briefly, some facts which, I think, support the view here advocated.

Firstly, I will endeavour to show that there are indications of progress even among savages.

Secondly, that among the most civilised nations there are traces of original barbarism.

The Archbishop supposes that men were, from the beginning, herdsmen and cultivators. We know, however, that the Australians, North and South Americans, and several other more or less savage races, living in countries eminently suited to our domestic animals and to the cultivation of cereals, were yet entirely ignorant both of the one and the other. It is, I think, improbable that any race of men who had once been

agriculturists and herdsmen should entirely abandon pursuits so easy and advantageous; and it is still more likely that, if we accept Usher's very limited chronology, all tradition of such a change should be lost. Moreover, even if in the course of time the descendants of the present colonists in (say) America or Australia were to fall into such a state of barbarism, still herds of wild cattle, descended from those imported, would probably continue to live in those countries; and even if these were exterminated, their skeletons would testify to their previous existence; whereas, we know that not a single bone of the ox or of the domestic sheep has been found either in Australia or in America. The same argument applies to the horse, since the fossil of South America did not belong to the same species as our domestic race. So, again, in the case of plants. We do not know that any of our cultivated cereals would survive in a wild state, though it is highly probable that, perhaps in a modified form, they would do so. But there are many other plants which follow in the train of man, and by which the botany of South America, Australia, and New Zealand has been almost as profoundly modified as their ethnology has been by the arrival of the white man. The Maoris have a melancholy proverb, that the Maoris disappear before the white man, just as the white man's rat destroys the native rat, the European fly drives away the native fly, and the clover kills the New Zealand fern.

A very interesting paper on this subject, by Dr. (now Sir J. D.) Hooker, whose authority no one will question, is contained in the 'Natural History Review' for 1864: 'In Australia and 'New Zealand,' he says, 'for instance, the noisy train of English 'emigration is not more surely doing its work than the stealthy 'tide of English weeds, which are creeping over the surface of 'the waste, cultivated, and virgin soil, in annually increasing 'numbers of genera, species, and individuals. Apropos of 'this subject, a correspondent, W. T. Locke Travers, Esq., 'F.L.S., a most active New Zealand botanist, writing from 'Canterbury, says, "You would be surprised at the rapid '"spread of European and foreign plants in this country. All '"along the sides of the main lines of road through the plains, '"a *Polygonum* (*aviculare*), called cow-grass, grows most

'"luxuriantly, the roots sometimes two feet in depth, and the '"plants spreading over an area from four to five feet in '"diameter. The dock (*Rumex obtusifolius* or *R. crispus*) is '"to be found in every river-bed, extending into the valleys '"of the mountain rivers, until these become mere torrents. '"The sow-thistle is spread all over the country, growing '"luxuriantly nearly up to 6,000 feet. The watercress in-'"creases in our still rivers to such an extent as to threaten '"to choke them altogether."' The cardoon of the Argentine Republics is another remarkable instance of the same fact. We may therefore safely assume that if Australia, New Zealand, or South America had ever been peopled by a race of herdsmen and agriculturists, the fauna and flora of those countries would almost inevitably have given evidence of the fact, and differed much from the condition in which they were discovered.

We may also assert, as a general proposition, that no weapons or implements of metal have ever been found in any country inhabited by savages wholly ignorant of metallurgy. A still stronger case is afforded by pottery. Pottery is very indestructible; when used at all, it is always abundant, and it possesses two qualities—those, namely, of being easy to break and yet difficult to destroy, which render it very valuable in an archæological point of view. Moreover, it is, in most cases, associated with burials. It is therefore a very significant fact, that no fragment of pottery has ever been found in Australia, New Zealand, or the Polynesian Islands. It seems to me extremely improbable that an art so easy and so useful should ever have been lost by any race of men. Moreover, this argument applies to several other arts and instruments. I will mention only two, though several others might be brought forward. The art of spinning and the use of the bow are quite unknown to many races of savages, and yet would hardly be likely to have been abandoned when once known. The absence of architectural remains in these countries is another argument. Archbishop Whately, indeed, claims this as telling in his favour; but the absence of monuments in a country is surely indicative of barbarism, and not of civilisation.

The mental condition of savages also seems to me to speak strongly against the 'degrading' theory. Not only do the religions of the lower races appear to be indigenous, but, as already shown[1]—according to many trustworthy witnesses, merchants, philosophers, naval men, and missionaries alike—there are many races of men who are altogether destitute of a religion. The cases are, perhaps, less numerous than they are asserted to be; but some of them rest on good evidence. Yet I feel it difficult to believe that any people who once possessed any belief which can fairly be called a religion would ever entirely lose it. Religion appeals so strongly to the hopes and fears of men, it takes so deep a hold on most minds, in its higher forms it is so great a consolation in times of sorrow and sickness, that I can hardly think any nation would ever abandon it altogether. Moreover, it produces a race of men who are interested in maintaining its influence and authority. If, therefore, we find a race which is now practically without religion, I cannot but assume that it has always been so.

The character of the religious belief of savage races, as I have elsewhere[2] attempted to show, points strongly to the same conclusion. I am glad to find that so acute a reasoner as Mr. Bagehot is satisfied by the evidence which has been brought forward on this point. 'Clearly,' he says,[3] 'if all early men 'unanimously, or even much the greater number of early men, 'had a religion *without* omens, no religion, or scarcely a religion 'anywhere in the world, could have come into existence *with* 'omens.'

It seems also impossible to understand how races which have retained the idea of a heaven should have lost that of a hell, supposing they had ever possessed one.

I will now proceed to mention a few cases in which some improvement does appear to have taken place, though, as a general rule, it may be observed that the contact of two races tends to depress rather than to raise the lower one. According to Macgillivray, the Australians of Port Essington, who, like all their fellow-countrymen, had formerly bark-canoes only, have now completely abandoned them for others hollowed out of the

[1] *Ante*, p. 207; and Prehistoric Times, 5th ed., p. 564.

[2] *Ante*, p. 375.

[3] Physics and Politics, p. 133.

trunk of a tree, which they buy from the Malays. The inhabitants of the Andaman Islands have recently introduced outriggers. The Bachapins, when visited by Burchell, had just commenced working iron. According to Burton, the Wajiji negroes have recently learned to make brass. In Tahiti, when visited by Captain Cook, the largest morai, or burial-place, was that erected for the then reigning queen. The Tahitians, also, had then very recently abandoned the habit of cannibalism.

The natives of Celebes, whose bamboo houses are very liable to be blown down, have discovered that if they fix some crooked timbers in the sides of the house it is less likely to fall. Accordingly they chop 'the crookedest they can find, but they do 'not know the rationale of the contrivance, and have not hit on 'the idea that straight poles fixed slanting would have the same 'effect in making the structure rigid.'[1]

Farrer[2] mentions the following cases: 'The Comanche 'Indians of Texas, among whom "Christianity had never been '"introduced," abolished, in consequence of their intercourse 'with tribes less savage than themselves, the inhuman custom of 'killing a favourite wife at her husband's funeral. Mariner was 'himself a witness of the abolition on the Tongan Islands of the 'custom of strangling the wife of the great Tooitonga chief at 'his death.

. . . . . .

'Bianswah, the great Chippewya chief, put a stop, by a treaty 'of peace with the Sioux, to the horrible practice of burning 'prisoners alive; and, though the peace between the tribes was 'often broken, their compact in this respect was never violated.

. . . . . .

'Thus the Nootka Indians, who used to conclude their hunting 'festivals with a human sacrifice, subsequently changed the 'custom into the more lenient one of sticking a boy with knives 'in various parts of his body. The Zulus abolished the custom 'of killing slaves with a chief, to prepare food and other things for 'him in the next world, so that now it is only a tradition with 'them that formerly, when a chief died, he did not die alone.'

[1] Wallace's Malay Archipelago, quoted in Tylor's Primitive Culture, vol. i. p. 56.

[2] Primitive Manners and Customs. By T. A. Farrer, pp. 16 and 17.

Sha-gwaw-koo-sink, an Ottawwaw, who lived at the beginning of this century, first introduced the cultivation of corn among the Ojibbeways.[1] Moreover, there are certain facts which speak for themselves. Some of the American races cultivated the potato. Now, the potato is an American plant, and we have here, therefore, clear evidence of a step in advance made by these tribes. Again, the Peruvians had domesticated the llama. Those who believe in the diversity of species of men may argue that the Peruvians had domestic llamas from the beginning. Archbishop Whately, however, would not take this line. He would, I am sure, admit that the first settlers in Peru had no llamas, nor, indeed, any other domestic animal, excepting, probably, the dog. The bark-cloth of the Polynesians is another case in point. Tylor says the present usage in Australia is considerably in advance of ancient rule.[2] Another very strong case is the boomerang of the Australians. This weapon is known to no other race of men.[3] We cannot look on it as a relic of primeval civilisation, or it would not now be confined to one race only. The Australians cannot have learnt it from any civilised visitors, for the same reason. It is, therefore, as it seems to me, exactly the case we want and a clear proof of a step in advance—a small one, indeed, but still a step made by a people whom Archbishop Whately would certainly admit to be true savages. The Cherokees afford a remarkable instance of progress, and indeed—alone among the North American hunting races—have really become agriculturists. As long ago as 1825, with a population of 14,000, they possessed 2,923 ploughs, 7,683 horses, 22,500 black cattle, 46,700 pigs, and 2,566 sheep. They had 49 mills, 69 blacksmiths' shops, 762 looms, and 2,486 spinning-wheels. They kept slaves, having captured several hundred negroes in Carolina. Nay, one

[1] Tanner's Narrative, p. 180.

[2] Anthr. Journal, 8vo, p. 354.

[3] With one doubtful exception. The ancient Egyptians used a curved stick to throw at birds, 'but in no 'instance had it the round shape and 'flight of the Australian boomerang,' Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, vol. i. p. 235. Lane Fox, however, assures us that a fac-simile of the Egyptian weapon in the British Museum possessed all the properties of the Australian boomerang, returning when thrown to within a few paces of the position from which it was thrown. This may be so, but we have no evidence whatever that it was actually so used. Lane Fox, Jour. Anthr. Inst., 1875, p. 415.

of them, a man of the name of Sequoyah, invented a system of letters which, as far as the Cherokee language is concerned, is better than ours. Cherokee contains twelve consonants and five vowels, with a nasal sound 'ung.' Thus, combining each of the twelve consonants with each of the six vowels, and adding the vowels which occur singly, but omitting any sign for 'mung,' as that sound does not occur in Cherokee, he required seventy-seven characters, to which he added eight—representing the sounds s, ka, hna, nah, ta, te, ti, tla—making altogether eighty-five characters. The alphabet, as already mentioned, is superior to ours. The characters are indeed more numerous, but, when once learnt, the pupil can read at once. It is said that a boy can learn to read Cherokee, when thus expressed, in a few weeks; while, if ordinary letters were used, two years would be required. Obviously, however, this alphabet is not applicable to other languages.

The rude substitutes for writing found among other tribes —the wampum of the North American Indians, the picture-writing and quippu of Central America—must also be regarded as of native origin. In the case of the system of letters invented by Mohammed Doalu, a negro of the Vei country, in West Africa, the idea was no doubt borrowed from the missionaries, although it was worked out independently. In other cases, however, I think this cannot be. Take that of the Mexicans. Even if we suppose that they were descended from a primitively civilised race, and had gradually and completely lost both the use and tradition of letters—to my mind, a most improbable hypothesis—still we must look on their system of picture-writing as being of American origin. Even if a system of writing by letters could ever be altogether lost, which I doubt, it certainly would not be abandoned for that of picture-writing, which is inferior in every point of view. If the Mexicans had owed their civilisation, not to their own gradual improvement, but to the influence of some European visitors, driven by stress of weather or the pursuit of adventure on to their coasts, we should have found in their system of writing, and in other respects, unmistakable proofs of such an influence. Although, therefore, we have no historical proof that the civilisation of America was indigenous, we have in its very character evidence more satisfactory perhaps than any historical

statements would be. The same argument may be derived from the names used for numbers by savages. I feel great difficulty in supposing that any race which had learned to count up to ten would ever unlearn a piece of knowledge so easy and yet so useful. Yet, as has already been pointed out, few, perhaps none, of those whom Archbishop Whately would call savages can count so far.

In many cases, where the system of numeration is at present somewhat more advanced, it bears on it the stamp of native and recent origin. Among civilised nations the derivations of the numerals have long since been obscured by the gradual modification which time effects in all words—especially those in frequent use, and before the invention of printing. And if the numerals of savages were relics of a former civilisation, the waifs and strays saved out of the general wreck, they would certainly have suffered so much from the wear and tear of constant use, that their derivations would be obscured or wholly undiscoverable, instead of which they are often perfectly clear and obvious, especially among races whose arithmetical attainments are lowest. These numerals, then, are recent, because they are uncorrupted; and they are indigenous, because they have an evident meaning in the language of the tribes by whom they are used.[1]

Again, as I have already pointed out,[2] many savage languages are entirely deficient in such words as 'color,' 'tone,' 'tree,' &c., having names for each kind of color, every species of tree, but not for the general idea. I can hardly imagine a nation losing such words if it had once possessed them.

Other evidence to the same effect might be extracted from the language of savages; and arguments of this nature are entitled to more weight than statements of travellers, as to the objects found in use among savages. Suppose, for instance, that an early traveller mentioned the absence of some art or knowledge among a race visited by him, and that later ones found the natives in possession of it. Most people would hesitate to receive this as a clear evidence of progress, and rather be disposed to suspect that later travellers, with perhaps better opportunities, had seen what their predecessors had overlooked.

[1] See Chapter IX. This argument would be conclusive were it not that new words are coined from time to time in all languages. [2] Ch. IX.

This is no hypothetical case. The early Spanish writers assert that the inhabitants of the Ladrone Islands were ignorant of the use of fire. Later travellers, on the contrary, find them perfectly well acquainted with it. They have, therefore, almost unanimously assumed, not that the natives had made a step in advance, but that the Spaniards had made a mistake; and I have not brought this case forward in opposition to the assertions of Whately, because I am inclined to be of this opinion myself. I refer to it here, however, as showing how difficult it would be to obtain in this manner satisfactory evidence of material progress among savages, even admitting that such exists. The arguments derived from language, however, are liable to no such suspicions, but tell their own tale, and leave us at liberty to draw our own conclusions.

I will now very briefly refer to certain considerations which seem to show that even the most civilised races were once in a state of barbarism. Not only throughout Europe—not only in Italy and Greece—but even in the so-called cradle of civilisation itself, in Palestine and Syria, in Egypt and in India, the traces of a stone age have been discovered. It may indeed be said that these were only the fragments of those stone knives, &c., which we know were used in religious ceremonies long after metal was in general use for secular purposes. This, indeed, resembles the attempt to account for the presence of elephants' bones in England by supposing that they were the remains of elephants which might have been brought over by the Romans. But why were stone knives used by the Egyptian and Jewish priests? Evidently because they had been at one time in general use, and a feeling of respect made the priest reluctant to introduce a new substance into religious ceremonies.

There are, moreover, other considerations; for instance, the gradual improvement in the relation between the sexes, and the development of correct ideas on the subject of relationship, seem to me strongly to point to the same conclusion.

In the publication of the Nova Scotian 'Institute of Natural Science' is an interesting paper by Mr. Haliburton, on 'The Unity of the Human Race, proved by the universality 'of certain superstitions connected with sneezing.' 'Once 'establish,' he says, 'that a large number of arbitrary customs

'—such as could not have naturally suggested themselves to 'all men at all times—are universally observed, and we arrive 'at the conclusion that they are primitive customs which have 'been inherited from a common source, and, if inherited, that 'they owe their origin to an era anterior to the dispersion of 'the human race.' To justify such a conclusion, the custom must be demonstrably arbitrary. The belief that two and two make four, the decimal system of numeration, and similar coincidences, of course prove nothing; but I very much doubt the existence of any universal, or even general, custom of a clearly arbitrary character. The fact is, that many things appear to us arbitrary and strange because we live in a condition so different from that in which they originated. Many things seem natural to a savage which to us appear absurd and unaccountable.

Mr. Haliburton brings forward, as his strongest case, the habit of saying 'God bless you!' or some equivalent expression, when a person sneezes. He shows that this custom, which, I admit, appears to us at first sight both odd and arbitrary, is ancient and widely extended. It is mentioned by Homer, Aristotle, Apuleius, Pliny, and the Jewish rabbis, and has been observed among the Negroes and Kaffirs; in Koordistan, in Florida, in Otaheite, in New Zealand, and in the Tonga Islands.

It is not arbitrary, however, and it does not, therefore, come under his rule. A belief in invisible beings is very general among savages; and while they think it unnecessary to account for blessings, they attribute any misfortune to the ill will of these mysterious beings. Many savages regard disease as a case of possession. In cases of illness they do not suppose that the organs are themselves affected, but that they are being devoured by a god; hence their medicine-men do not try to cure the disease, but to extract the demon. Some tribes have a distinct deity for every ailment. The Australians do not believe in natural death. When a man dies they take it for granted that he has been destroyed by witchcraft, and the only doubt is, who is the culprit? Now, a people in this state of mind—and we know that almost every race of men is passing, or has passed, through this stage of development—seeing a

man sneeze would naturally, and almost inevitably, suppose that he was attacked and shaken by some invisible being; equally natural is the impulse to appeal for aid to some other invisible being more powerful than the first.[1]

Mr. Haliburton admits that a sneeze is 'an omen of impending 'evil;' but it is more—it is evidence, which to the savage mind would seem conclusive, that the sneezer was possessed by some evil-disposed spirit: evidently, therefore, this case, on which Mr. Haliburton so much relies, is by no means an 'arbitrary 'custom,' and does not, therefore, fulfil the conditions which he himself laid down. He has incidentally brought forward some other instances, most of which labour under the disadvantage of proving too much. Thus, he instances the existence of a festival in honour of the dead, 'at or near the beginning of 'November.' Such a feast is very general; and, as there are many more races holding such a festival than there are months in the year, it is evident that, in several cases, they must be held together. But Mr. Haliburton goes on to say: 'The 'Spaniards were very naturally surprised at finding that, while 'they were celebrating a solemn mass for All Souls on 'November 22, the heathen Peruvians were also holding their 'annual commemoration of the dead.' This curious coincidence would, however, not only prove the existence of such a festival, as he says, 'before the dispersion' (which Mr. Haliburton evidently looks on as a definite event rather than as a gradual process), but also that the ancestors of the Peruvians were at that epoch sufficiently advanced to form a calendar, and that their descendants were able to keep it unchanged down to the present time. This, however, we know was not the case. Again, Mr. Haliburton says: 'The belief in Scotland and 'equatorial Africa is found to be almost precisely identical re-'specting there being ghosts, even of the living, who are ex-'ceedingly troublesome and pugnacious, and can be sometimes 'killed by a silver bullet.' Here we certainly have what seems at first sight to be an arbitrary belief; but if it proves that there was a belief in ghosts before the dispersion, it would also prove that silver bullets were then in use. This illustration is,

[1] I am glad to see that Mr. Herbert Spencer agrees with me in this. See Principles of Sociology, p. 245.

I think, a very interesting one; because it shows that similar ideas in distant countries owe their origin, not 'to an era before 'the dispersion of the human race,' but to the fundamental similarity of the human mind. While I do not believe that similar customs in different nations are 'inherited from a common source,' or are necessarily primitive, I certainly do see in them an argument for the unity of the human race, which, however (be it remarked), is not necessarily the same thing as the descent from a single pair.

On the other hand, I have attempted to show that ideas which might at first sight appear arbitrary and unaccountable, arise naturally in very distinct nations as they arrive at a similar stage of progress; and it is necessary, therefore, to be extremely cautious in using such customs or ideas as implying any special connection between different races of men.

PART II.[1]

At the Dundee meeting of the British Association I had the honour of reading a paper 'On the Origin of Civilisation and 'the Primitive Condition of Man,' in answer to certain opinions and arguments brought forward by the late Archbishop of Dublin. The views therein advocated met with little opposition at the time. The then Presidents of the Ethnological and Anthropological Societies both expressed their concurrence in the conclusions at which I arrived; and the Memoir was printed *in extenso* by the Association. It has, however, subsequently been attacked at some length by the Duke of Argyll;[2] and as the Duke has in some cases strangely misunderstood me, and in others (I am sure unintentionally) misrepresented my views—as, moreover, the subject is one of great interest and importance, I am anxious to make some remarks in reply to his Grace's criticisms. The Duke has divided his work into four chapters: I. Introduction; II. The Origin of Man; III. and IV. His Primitive Condition.

[1] The substance of this was read before the British Association during their meeting at Exeter in 1869.

[2] Good Words: March, April, May and June, 1868. Also since republished in a separate form.

I did not, in my first Memoir, nor do I now, propose to discuss the subjects dealt with in the first half of the Duke's 'Speculations.' I will only observe that in attacking Professor Huxley for proposing to unite the Bimana and Quadrumana in one Order, 'Primates,' the Duke uses a dangerous argument; for if, on account of his great mental superiority over the Quadrumana, Man forms an Order or even Class by himself, it will be impossible any longer to regard all men as belonging to one species or even genus. The Duke is in error when he supposes that 'mental powers and instincts' afford tests of easy application in other parts of the animal kingdom. On the contrary, genera with the most different mental powers and instincts are placed, not only in the same order, but even in the same family. Thus our most learned hymenopterologist (Mr. Frederick Smith) classes the Hive-bee, the Humble-bee, and the parasitic Apathus in the same sub-family of Apidæ. It seems to me, therefore, illogical to separate man zoologically from the other primates on the ground of his mental superiority, and yet to maintain the specific unity of the human race, notwithstanding the mental differences between different races of men.

I do not, however, propose to discuss the origin of man, and pass on therefore at once to the Duke's third chapter; and here I congratulate myself at the outset that the result of my paper has been to satisfy him that Whately's argument,[1] 'though strong at some points, is at others open to assault, and 'that as a whole, the subject now requires to be differently 'handled, and regarded from a different point of view.' 'I do 'not, therefore,' he adds in a subsequent page,[2] 'agree with 'the late Archbishop of Dublin, that we are entitled to assume 'it is a fact that, as regards the mechanical arts, no savage 'race has ever raised itself.' And again:[3] 'The aid which 'man had from his Creator may possibly have been nothing 'more than the aid of a body and of a mind, so marvellously 'endowed that thought was an instinct and contrivance a 'necessity.'

I feel, however, less satisfaction on this account than would

[1] Good Words, June, 1868, p. 156. [2] *Ibid.* p. 386. [3] P. 392.

otherwise have been the case, because it seems to me that though the Duke acknowledges the Archbishop's argument to be untenable, he practically reproduces it with but a slight alteration and somewhat protected by obscurity. What Whately called 'instruction' the Duke terms 'instinct;' and he considers that man had instincts which afforded all that was necessary as a starting ground. He admits, however, that monkeys use stones to break nuts; he might have added that they throw sticks and stones at intruders. But he says, 'Between these 'rudiments of intellectual perception and the next step (that 'of adapting and fashioning an instrument for a particular 'purpose) there is a gulf in which lies the whole immeasurable 'distance between man and brutes.' I cannot agree with the Duke in this opinion; nor indeed does he agree with himself, for he adds in the very same page that—'The wielding of a stick is, , in all probability, an act equally of primitive intuition, and from 'this to throwing of a stick and the use of javelins is an easy and 'natural transition.'

He continues as follows: 'Simple as these acts are, they 'involve both physical and mental powers which are capable of 'all the developments which we see in the most advanced in-'dustrial arts. These acts involve the instinctive idea of the 'constancy of natural causes and the capacity of thought, which 'gives men the conviction that what has happened under given 'conditions will, under the same conditions, always occur again.' On these, he says, 'as well as on other grounds, I have never 'attached much importance to Whately's argument.' These are indeed important admissions, and amount to a virtual abandonment of Whately's position.

The Duke blames the Archbishop of Dublin for not having defined the terms 'civilisation' and 'barbarism.' It seems to me that Whately illustrated his meaning better by examples than he could have done by any definition. The Duke does not seem to have felt any practical difficulty from the omission: and it is remarkable that, after all, he himself omits to define the terms, thus himself making the very omission for which he blames Whately. He perhaps found it impossible in a few words to define the complex organisation which we call civilisation, or to state in a few words how a civilised differs from a barbarous

people. Indeed, to define civilisation as it should be is surely as yet impossible, since we are far from having solved the problem how we may best avail ourselves of our opportunities, and enjoy the beautiful world in which we live.

As regards barbarism, the Duke observes, 'All I desire to 'point out here is, that there is no necessary connection 'between a state of mere childhood in respect to knowledge 'and a state of utter barbarism, words which, if they have any 'definite meaning at all, imply the lowest moral as well as the 'lowest intellectual condition.' To every proposition in this remarkable sentence I entirely demur. There is, I think, a very intimate connection between knowledge and civilisation. Knowledge and barbarism cannot coexist—knowledge and civilisation are inseparable.

Again, the words 'utter barbarism' have certainly a very definite signification, but as certainly, I think, not that which the Duke attributes to them. The lowest moral and the lowest intellectual condition are not only, in my opinion, not inseparable, they are not even compatible. Morality implies responsibility, and consequently intelligence. The lower animals are neither moral nor immoral. The lower races of men may be, and are, vicious; but allowances must be made for them. On the contrary (*corruptio optimi, pessima est*), the higher the mental power, the more splendid the intellectual endowment, the deeper is the moral degradation of him who wastes the one and abuses the other.

On the whole, the fair inference seems to be that savages are more innocent, and yet more criminal, than civilised races; they are by no means in the lowest possible moral condition, nor are they capable of the higher virtues.

In the first part of this paper I laid much stress on the fact that even in the most civilised nations we find traces of early barbarism. The Duke maintains, on the contrary, that these traces afford no proof, or even presumption, that barbarism was the primeval condition of man. He urges that all such customs may have been, not primeval, but medieval; and he continues: 'Yet this assumption runs through all Sir J. Lubbock's argu-'ments. Wherever a brutal or savage custom prevails it is 'regarded as a sample of the original condition of mankind.

'And this in the teeth of facts which prove that many of such 'customs not only may have been, but must have been, the 'result of corruption.'

Fortunately, it is unnecessary for me to defend myself against this criticism, because in the very next sentence the Duke directly contradicts himself, and shows that I have not done that of which he accuses me. He continues his argument thus: 'Take cannibalism as one of these. Sir J. Lubbock 'seems to admit that this loathsome practice was not primeval.' Thus by way of proof that I regard all brutal customs as primeval, he states, and correctly states, that I do not regard cannibalism as primeval. It would be difficult, I think, to find a more curious case of self-contradiction.

The Duke refers particularly to the practice of Bride-catching, which he states 'cannot possibly have been primeval.' He omits, however, to explain why, from his point of view, it could not have been so; and of course, assuming the word 'primeval' to cover a period of some length, it would have been interesting to know his reasons for this conclusion; in fact, however, it is not a case in point, because, as I have attempted to show, marriage by capture was preceded by a custom still more barbarous. It may, perhaps, however, be as well to state emphatically that all brutal customs are not, in my opinion, primeval. Human sacrifices, for instance, were, I think, certainly not so.

My argument, however, was that there is a definite sequence of habits and ideas; that certain customs (some brutal, others not so) which we find lingering on in civilised communities are a page of past history, and tell a tale of former barbarism; rather on account of their simplicity than of their brutality, though many of them are brutal enough. Again, no one would go back from letter-writing to the use of the quippu or hieroglyphics; nor would abandon the fire-drill and obtain fire by hand-friction.

Believing, as he does, that the primitive condition of man was one of civilisation, the Duke accounts for the existence of savages by the remark that they are 'mere outcasts of the 'human race,' descendants of weak tribes which were 'driven 'to the woods and rocks.' But until the historical period these

'mere outcasts' occupied almost the whole of North and South America, all Northern Europe, the greater part of Africa, the great continent of Australia, a large part of Asia, and the beautiful islands of the Pacific. Moreover, until modified by man, the great continents were either in the condition of open plains, such as heaths, downs, prairies, and tundras, or they were mere 'woods and rocks.' Now, everything tends to show that mere woods and rocks exercised on the whole a favourable influence. Inhabitants of great plains rarely rose beyond the pastoral stage. In America the most advanced civilisation was attained, not by the occupants of the fertile valleys, not along the banks of the Mississippi or the Amazon, but among the rocks and woods of Mexico and Peru. Scotland itself is a brilliant proof that woods and rocks are compatible with a high state of civilisation.

My idea of the manner in which, and the causes owing to which, man spread over the earth, is very different from that of the Duke. He evidently supposes that new countries have been occupied by weak races, driven there by more powerful tribes. This I believe to be an entirely erroneous notion. Take, for instance, our own island. We are sometimes told that the Celts were driven by the Saxons into Wales and Cornwall. On the contrary, however, we know that Wales and Cornwall were both occupied long before the Saxons landed on our shores. Even as regards the rest of the country, it would not be correct to say that the Celts were driven away; they were either destroyed or absorbed.

The gradual extension of the human race has not, in my opinion, been effected by force acting on any given race from without, but by internal necessity and the pressure of population; by peaceful, not by hostile force; by prosperity, not by misfortune. I believe that of old, as now, founders of new colonies were men of energy and enterprise, animated by hope and courage, not by fear and despair; that they were, in short, anything but mere outcasts of the human race.

The Duke relies a good deal on the case of America. 'Is 'it not true,' he asks, 'that the lowest and rudest tribes in the 'population of the globe have been found in the furthest ex-'tremities of its great continents, and in the distant islands,

'which would be the last refuge of the victims of violence and 'misfortune? "The new world" is the continent which 'presents the most uninterrupted stretch of habitable land 'from the highest northern to the lowest southern latitude. 'On the extreme north we have the Esquimaux, or Inuit race, 'maintaining human life under conditions of extremest hard-'ship even amid the perpetual ice of the Polar seas. And 'what a life it is! Watching at the blow-hole of a seal for 'many hours, in a temperature of 75° below freezing point, is 'the constant work of the Inuit hunter. And when at last 'his prey is struck, it is his luxury to feast upon the raw blood 'and blubber. To civilised man it is hardly possible to con-'ceive a life so wretched, and in many respects so brutal, as 'the life led by this race during the long-lasting night of the 'Arctic winter.'

To this question I confidently reply, No, it is not true; it is not true as a general proposition that the lowest races are found furthest from the centres of continents; it is not true in the particular case of America. The natives of Brazil, possessing a country of almost unrivalled fertility, surrounded by the most luxuriant vegetation, watered by magnificent rivers, and abounding in animal life, were yet unquestionably lower than the Esquimaux,[1] whom the Duke pities and despises so much.[2] He pities them, indeed, more than I think the case requires. Our own sportsmen willingly undergo great hardships in pursuit of game; and hunting in earnest must possess a keen zest which it can never attain when it is a mere sport.

'When we rise,' says Mr. Hill,[3] 'twice or thrice a day 'from a full meal, we cannot be in a right frame either of body 'or mind for the proper enjoyments of the chase. Our slug-'gish spirits then want the true incentive to action, which 'should be hunger, with the hope before us of filling a craving

[1] See Martius, p. 77. Dr. Rae ranks the Esquimaux above the Red Indians. Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1866. Martius was himself at one time of opinion that the Brazilians were degenerate, but his investigations finally led him to the opposite conclusion. See Nature, 1874, pp. 146, 204.

[2] When the Duke states that 'neither an agricultural nor pastoral 'life is possible on the borders of a 'frozen sea,' he forgets for the moment the inhabitants of Lapland and of Siberia.

[3] Travels in Siberia, vol. ii. p. 28.

'stomach. I could remember once before being for a long 'time dependent upon the gun for food, and feeling a touch of 'the charm of a savage life (for every condition of humanity 'has its good as well as its evil), but never till now did I fully 'comprehend the attachment of the sensitive, not drowsy, 'Indian.'

Esquimaux life, indeed, as painted by our Arctic voyagers is by no means so miserable as the Duke supposes. Captain Parry, for instance, gives the following picture of an Esquimaux hut: 'In the few opportunities we had in putting their hospi- 'tality to the test, we had every reason to be pleased with 'them. Both as to food and accommodation, the best they had 'were always at our service; and their attention, both in kind 'and degree, was everything that hospitality and even good 'breeding could dictate. The kindly offices of drying and 'mending our clothes, cooking our provisions and thawing 'snow for our drink, were performed by the women with an 'obliging cheerfulness which we shall not easily forget, and 'which demanded its due share of our admiration and esteem. 'While thus their guest I have passed an evening not only with 'comfort but with extreme gratification; for with the women 'working and singing, their husbands quietly mending their 'lines, the children playing before the door, and the pot boiling 'over the blaze of a cheerful lamp, one might well forget for 'the time that an Esquimaux hut was the scene of this do- 'mestic comfort and tranquillity; and I can safely affirm with 'Cartwright that, while thus lodged beneath their roof, I know 'no people whom I would more confidently trust, as respects 'either my person or my property, than the Esquimaux.' Dr. Rae,[1] who had ample means of judging, tells us that the Eastern Esquimaux 'are sober, steady, and faithful. . . . 'Provident to their own property, and careful of that of others 'when under their charge. . . . Socially they are a lively, 'cheerful, and chatty people, fond of associating with each 'other and with strangers, with whom they soon become on 'friendly terms, if kindly treated. . . . In their domestic 'relations they are exemplary. The man is an obedient son, 'a good husband, and a kind father. . . . The children

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc., 1866, p. 138.

'when young are docile. . . . The girls have their dolls, 'in making dresses and shoes for which they amuse and employ 'themselves. The boys have miniature bows, arrows, and 'spears. . . . When grown up they are dutiful to their 'parents. . . . Orphan children are readily adopted and 'well cared for until they are able to provide for themselves.' He concludes by saying, 'the more I saw of the Esquimaux 'the higher was the opinion I formed of them.'

Again, Hooper[1] thus describes a visit to an Asiatic Esquimaux belonging to the Tuski race: 'Upon reaching Mooldoo-'yah's habitation, we found Captain Moore installed at his 'ease, with every provision made for comfort and convenience. 'Water and venison were suspended over the lamps in prepa-'ration for dinner; skins nicely arranged for couches, and the 'hangings raised to admit the cool air; our baggage was bestowed 'around us with care and in quiet, and we were free to take our 'own way of enjoying such unobtrusive hospitality without a 'crowd of eager gazers watching us like lions at feed; nor were 'we troubled by importunate begging such as detracted from the 'dignity of Metra's station, which was undoubtedly high in the 'tribe.'

I know no sufficient reason for supposing that the Esquimaux were ever more advanced than they are now. The Duke, indeed, considers that before they were 'driven by wars and 'migrations' (a somewhat curious expression) they 'may have 'been nomads living on their flocks and herds;' and he states broadly that 'the rigours of the region they now inhabit have 'reduced these people to the condition in which we now see 'them:' a conclusion for which I know no reason, particularly as the Tinne and other Indians living to the south of the Esquimaux are ruder and more barbarous.

It is my belief that the great continents were already occupied by a widespread though sparse population when man was no more advanced than the lowest savages of to-day; and although I am far from believing that the various degrees of civilisation which now occur can be altogether accounted for by the external circumstances as they at present exist, still these circumstances seem to me to throw much light on the very

[1] The Tents of the Tuski, p. 102.

different amount of progress which has been attained by different races.

In referring to the backwardness of the aboriginal Australians, I had observed that New Holland contained 'neither 'cereals nor any animals which could be domesticated with 'advantage;' upon which the Duke remarks that 'Sir John 'Lubbock urges in reply to Whately that the low condition of 'Australian savages affords no proof whatever that they could 'not raise themselves, because the materials of improvement 'are wanting in that country, which affords no cereals nor 'animals capable of useful domestication. But Sir J. Lubbock 'does not perceive that the same argument which shows how 'improvement could not possibly be attained, shows also how 'degradation could not possibly be avoided. If with the few 'resources of the country it was impossible for savages to rise, 'it follows that with those same resources it would be impossible 'for a half-civilised race not to fall. And as in this case again, 'unless we are to suppose a separate Adam and Eve for Van 'Diemen's Land, its natives must originally have come from 'countries where both corn and cattle were to be had; it 'follows that the low condition of these natives is much more 'likely to have been the result of degradation than of primeval 'barbarism.'

But my argument was that a half-civilised race would have brought other resources with them. The dog was, I think, certainly introduced into that country by man, who would probably have brought with him other domestic animals also if he had possessed any. The same argument applies to plants; the Polynesians carried the sweet potato and the yam, as well as the dog, with them from island to island; and even if the first settlers in Australia happened to have been without them, and without the means of acquiring them, they would certainly have found some native plants which would have been worth the trouble of cultivation, if they had already attained to the agricultural stage.

This argument applies with even more force to pottery; if the first settlers in Australia were acquainted with this art, I can see no reason why they should suddenly and completely have lost it.

The Duke, indeed, seems to maintain that the natives of Van Diemen's Land (whom he appears to regard as belonging to the same race as the Australians and Polynesians, from both of which races, however, they are entirely distinct) 'must have originally 'come from countries where both corn and cattle were to be 'had;' still 'degradation could not possibly be avoided.' This seems to be the natural inference from the Duke's language, and suggests a very gloomy future for our Australian fellow-countrymen. The position is, however, so manifestly untenable, when once put into plain language, that I think it unnecessary to dwell longer on this part of the subject. Even the Duke himself will hardly maintain that our colonists must fall back because the natives did not improve. Yet he extends and generalises this argument in a subsequent paragraph, saying, 'There is hardly a single fact quoted by Sir J. Lubbock 'in favour of his own theory which, when viewed in connection 'with the same indisputable principles, does not tell against 'that theory rather than in its favour.' So far from being 'indisputable,' the principle that when savages remained savages, civilised settlers must descend to the same level, appears to me entirely erroneous. On reading the above passage, however, I passed on with much interest to see which of my facts I had so strangely misread.

The great majority of facts connected with savage life have no perceptible bearing on the question, and I must therefore have been not only very stupid, but also singularly unfortunate, if of all those quoted by me in support of my argument 'there was hardly a single one' which, read aright, was not merely irrelevant, but actually told against me. In support of his statement the Duke gives three illustrations, but it is remarkable that not one of these three cases was referred to by me in the present discussion, or in favour of the theory now under discussion. If all the facts on which I relied told against me, it is curious that the Duke should not give an instance. The three illustrations which he quotes from my 'Prehistoric Times' seem to me irrelevant; but, as the Duke thinks otherwise, it will be worth while to see how he uses them, and to inquire whether they give any real sup-

port to his argument. As already mentioned, they are three in number.

'Sir J. Lubbock,' he says, 'reminds us that in a cave on 'the north-west coast (of Australia) tolerable figures of sharks, 'porpoises, turtles, lizards, canoes, and some quadrupeds, &c., 'were found, and yet that the present natives of the country 'where they were found were utterly incapable of realising 'the most artistic vivid representations, and ascribe the 'drawings in the cave to diabolical agency.' This proves nothing, because the Australian tribes differ much in their artistic condition; some of them still make rude drawings like those above described.

Secondly, he says, 'Sir J. Lubbock quotes the testimony 'of Cook, in respect to the Tasmanians, that they had no 'canoes. Yet their ancestors could not have reached the island 'by walking on the sea.' This argument would equally prove that the Kangaroo and the Echidna must have had civilised ancestors; they inhabit both Australia and Tasmania, and it would have been impossible for *their* ancestors to have passed from the one to the other 'by walking on the sea.' The Duke, though admitting the antiquity of man, does not, I think, appreciate the geological changes which have taken place during the human period.

The only other case which he quotes is that of the highland Esquimaux, who had no weapons nor any idea of war. The Duke's comment is as follows: 'No wonder, poor people! 'They had been driven into regions where no stronger race 'could desire to follow them. But that the fathers had once 'known what war and violence meant there is no more con-'clusive proof than the dwelling-place of their children.' It is perhaps natural that the head of a great Highland Clan should regard with pity a people who, having 'once known 'what war and violence meant,' have no longer any neighbours to pillage or to fight; but a Lowlander can hardly be expected seriously to regard such a change as one calculated to excite pity, or as any evidence of degradation.

In my first paper I deduced an argument from the condition of religion among the different races of man, a part of the subject which has since been admirably dealt with by Mr.

Tylor in a lecture at the Royal Institution. The use of flint for sacrificial purposes long after the introduction of metal seemed to me a good case of what Mr. Tylor has happily called 'Survival.' So also is the method of obtaining fire. The Brahman will not use ordinary fire for sacred purposes: he does not even obtain a fresh spark from flint and steel, but reverts to, or rather continues, the old way of obtaining it, by friction with a wooden drill, one Brahman pulling the thong backwards and forwards while the other watches to catch the sacred spark.

I also referred to the non-existence of religion among certain savage races, and, as the Duke correctly observes, I argued that this was probably their primitive condition, because it is difficult to believe that a people which had once possessed a religion would ever entirely lose it.[1]

This argument filled the Duke with 'astonishment.' Surely, he says, 'if there is one fact more certain than another in 'respect to the nature of man, it is that he is capable of losing 'religious knowledge, of ceasing to believe in religious truth, 'and of falling away from religious duty. If by "religion" 'is meant the existence merely of some impressions of powers 'invisible and supernatural, even this, we know, can not only 'be lost, but be scornfully disavowed by men who are highly 'civilised.' Yet in the very same page the Duke goes on to say, 'The most cruel and savage customs in the world are 'the direct effect of its "religions." And if men could drop 'religions when they would, or if they could even form the wish 'to get rid of those which sit like a nightmare on their life, 'there would be many more nations without a "religion" 'than there are found to be. But religions can neither be put 'on nor cast off like garments, according to their utility, or 'according to their beauty, or according to their power of com-'forting.'

With this I entirely agree. Man can no more voluntarily abandon or change the articles of his religious creed than he can make one hair black or white, or add one cubit to his stature. I do not deny that there may be exceptional cases of

[1] It is surely unnecessary to explain that I did not intend to question the possibility of a change in, but a total loss of, religion.

intellectual men entirely devoid of religion; but if the Duke means to say that men who are highly civilised habitually or frequently lose and scornfully disavow religion, I can only say that I should adopt such an opinion with difficulty and regret. There is, so far as I know, no evidence on record which would justify such an opinion, and, as far as my private experience goes, I at least have met with no such tendency. It is, indeed, true that from the times of Socrates downwards men in advance of their age have disavowed particular dogmas and particular myths; but the Duke of Argyll would, I am sure, not confuse a desire for reformation with the scornful disavowal of religion as a whole. Some philosophers may object to prayers for rain, but they are foremost in denouncing the folly of witchcraft; they may regard matter as aboriginal, but they would never suppose with the Redskin that land was created while water existed from the beginning; nor does any one now believe with the South Sea Islanders that the Peerage are immortal, but that commoners have no souls. If, indeed, there is 'one fact more certain than another in respect to the nature 'of man,' I should have considered it to be the gradual diffusion of religious light, and of nobler conceptions as to the nature of God.

The lowest savages have no idea of a deity at all. Those slightly more advanced regard him as an enemy to be dreaded, but who may be resisted with a fair prospect of success, who may be cheated by the cunning and defied by the strong. Thus the natives of the Nicobar Islands endeavour to terrify their deity by scarecrows, and the negro beats his Fetich if his prayers are not granted. As tribes advance in civilisation their deities advance in dignity, but their power is still limited; one governs the sea, another the land; one reigns over the plains, another among the mountains. The most powerful are vindictive, cruel, and unjust. They require humiliating ceremonies and bloody sacrifices. But few races have arrived at the conception of an omnipotent and beneficent Deity.

One of the lowest forms of religion is that presented by the Australians, which consists of a mere unreasoning belief in the existence of mysterious beings. The native who has in his

sleep a nightmare or a dream does not doubt the reality of that which passes; and as the beings by whom he is visited in his sleep are unseen by his friends and relations, he regards them as invisible.

In Fetichism this feeling is more methodised. The negro, by means of witchcraft, endeavours to make a slave of his deity. Thus Fetichism is almost the opposite of Religion: it stands towards it in the same relation as Alchemy to Chemistry, or Astrology to Astronomy; and shows how fundamentally our idea of a deity differs from that which presents itself to the savage. The negro does not hesitate to punish a refractory Fetich, and hides it in his waistcloth if he does not wish it to know what is going on. Aladdin's lamp is, in fact, a well-known illustration of a Fetich.

A further stage, and the superiority of the higher deities is more fully recognised. Everything is worshipped indiscriminately—animals, plants, and even inanimate objects. In endeavouring to account for the worship of animals, we must remember that names are very frequently taken from them. The children and followers of a man called the Bear or the Lion would make that a tribal name. Hence the animal itself would be first respected, at last worshipped. This form of religion can be shown to have existed, at one time or another, almost all over the world.

'The Totem,' says Schoolcraft, 'is a symbol of the name of 'the progenitor—generally some quadruped, or bird, or other 'object in the animal kingdom, which stands, if we may so ex- 'press it, as the surname of the family. It is always some 'animated object, and seldom or never derived from the inani- 'mate class of nature. Its significant importance is derived 'from the fact that individuals unhesitatingly trace their 'lineage from it. But whatever names they may be called 'during their lifetime, it is the totem, and not their personal 'name, that is recorded on the tomb or "adjedating" that 'marks the place of burial. Families are thus traced when 'expanded into bands or tribes, the multiplication of which in 'North America has been very great, and has decreased, in 'like ratio, the labours of the ethnologist.' Totemism, however, is by no means confined to America. In Central India

'the Moondah "Enidhi" or Oraon "Minijrar," or Eel tribe, 'will not kill or eat that fish. The Hawk, Crow, or Heron 'tribes will not kill or eat those birds. Livingstone, quoted in 'Latham, tells us that the subtribes of Bitshaunas (or Bechu-'anas) are similarly named after certain animals, and a tribe 'never eats the animal from which it is named, using the term '"ila," hate or dread, in reference to killing it.'[1]

Traces, indeed, of Totemism, more or less distinct, are widely distributed, and often connected with marriage prohibitions.

As regards inanimate objects, we must remember that the savage accounts for all action and movement by life; hence a watch is to him alive. This being taken in conjunction with the feeling that anything unusual is 'great medicine,' leads to the worship of any remarkable inanimate object. Mr. Fergusson has recently attempted to show the special prevalence of Tree and Serpent worship. He might, I believe, have made out as strong a case for many other objects. It seems clear that the objects worshipped in this stage are neither to be regarded as emblems nor are they personified. Inanimate objects have spirits as well as men; hence, when the wives and slaves are sacrificed, the weapons are also broken in the grave, so that the spirits of the latter, as well as of the former, may accompany their master to the other world.

The gradually increasing power of chiefs and priests led to Anthropomorphism, with its sacrifices, temples, and priests, &c. To this stage belongs idolatry, which must by no means be regarded as the lowest stage of religion. The writer of 'The 'Wisdom of Solomon,'[2] indeed, long ago pointed out how it was connected with monarchical power:—

'When men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt 'far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made 'an express image of a king, whom they honoured, to the end 'that by this, their forwardness, they might flatter him that was 'absent, as if he were present.

'Also the singular diligence of the artificer did help to set 'forward the ignorant to more superstition.

[1] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. vi. p. 36.

[2] Wisdom xiv. 17.

'For he, peradventure willing to please one in authority, 'forced all his skill to make the resemblance of the best 'fashion.

'And so the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took 'him now for a God which a little before was but honoured as a 'man.'

The worship of principles may be regarded as a still further stage in the natural development of religion.

It is important to observe that each stage of religion is superimposed on the preceding, and that bygone beliefs linger on among the children and the ignorant. Thus witchcraft is still believed in by the ignorant, and fairy tales flourish in the nursery.

It certainly appears to me that the gradual development of religious ideas among the lower races of men is a fair argument in opposition to the view that savages are degenerate descendants of civilised ancestors. Archbishop Whately would admit the connection between these different phases of religious belief; but I think he would find it very difficult to show any process of natural degradation and decay which could explain the quaint errors and opinions of the lower races of men, or to account for the lingering belief in witchcraft, and other absurdities, &c., in civilised races, excepting by some such train of reasoning as that which I have endeavoured to sketch.

There is another case in this memoir wherein the Duke, although generally a fair opponent, brings forward an unsupportable accusation. He criticises severely the 'Four Ages,' generally admitted by archæologists, especially referring to the terms 'Palæolithic' and 'Neolithic,' which are used to denote the two earlier.

I have no wish to take to myself in particular the blame which the Duke impartially extends to archæologists in general, but, having suggested the two terms in question, I will simply place side by side the passage in which they first appeared and the Duke's criticism, and confidently ask whether there is any foundation for the sweeping accusation made by the noble Duke.

The Duke says: 'For here 'I must observe that Archæo-

My words, when proposing the terms, were as follows:—

'logists are using language on 'this subject which, if not po- 'sitively erroneous, requires, 'at least, more rigorous de- 'finitions and limitations of 'meaning than they are dis- 'posed to attend to. They 'talk of an Old Stone Age '(Palæolithic), and of a Newer 'Stone Age (Neolithic), and 'of a Bronze Age, and of an 'Iron Age. Now, there is 'no proof whatever that such 'Ages ever existed in the 'world. It may be true, and 'it probably is true, that most 'nations in the progress of the 'Arts have passed through 'the stages of using stone for 'implements before they were 'acquainted with the use of 'metals. Even this, however, 'may not be true of all na- 'tions. In Africa there ap- 'pear to be no traces of any 'time when the natives were 'not acquainted with the use 'of iron; and I am informed 'by Sir Samuel Baker that 'iron ore is so common in 'Africa and of a kind so 'easily reducible by heat, that 'its use might well be disco- 'vered by the rudest tribes, 'who were in the habit of 'lighting fires. Then again 'it is to be remembered that 'there are some countries in the 'world where stone is as rare 'and difficult to get as metals.

'From the careful study of 'the remains which have come 'down to us, it would appear 'that the prehistoric archæo- 'logy may be divided into four 'great epochs.

'Firstly, that of Drift, when 'man shared the possession of 'Europe with the Mammoth, 'the cave-bear, the woolly- 'haired rhinoceros, and other 'extinct animals. This we 'may call the "Palæolithic" 'period.

'Secondly, the latter or 'polished Stone Age; a period 'characterised by beautiful 'weapons and instruments 'made of flint and other kinds 'of stones, in which, however, 'we find no trace of the know- 'ledge of any metal, excepting 'gold, which seems to have 'been sometimes used for or- 'naments. This we may call 'the Neolithic period.

'Thirdly, the Bronze Age, 'in which bronze was used for 'arms and cutting instruments 'of all kinds.

'Fourthly, the Iron Age, in 'which that metal had super- 'seded bronze for arms, axes, 'knives, &c.; bronze, how- 'ever, still being in common 'use for ornaments, and fre- 'quently also for the handles 'of swords and other arms, but 'never for the blades.

'Stone weapons, however,

'The great alluvial plains 'of Mesopotamia are a case in 'point. Accordingly we know 'from the remains of the first 'Chaldean monarchy that a 'very high civilisation in the 'arts of agriculture and of 'commerce coexisted with the 'use of stone implements of a 'very rude character. This 'fact proves that rude stone 'implements are not necessa-'rily any proof whatever of 'a really barbarous condition. 'And even if it were true that 'the use of stone has in all 'cases preceded the use of 'metals, it is quite certain 'that the same age which was 'an Age of Stone in one part 'of the world was an Age of 'Metal in the other. As re-'gards the Eskimo and the 'South Sea Islanders, we are 'now, or were very recently, 'living in a Stone Age.'

'of many kinds were still in use 'during the Age of Bronze, 'and even during that of Iron. 'So that the mere presence of a 'few stone implements is not in 'itself sufficient evidence that 'any given "find" belongs to 'the Stone Age.

'In order to prevent mis-'apprehension, it may be as 'well to state at once that I 'only apply this classification 'to Europe, though in all pro-'bability it might also be ex-'tended to the neighbouring 'parts of Asia and Africa. 'As regards other civilised 'countries, China and Japan 'for instance, we, as yet, know 'nothing of their prehistoric 'archæology. It is evident, 'also, that some nations, such 'as the Fuegians, Andama-'ners, &c., are even now only 'in an Age of Stone.'

I have therefore carefully pointed out those very limitations, the omission of which the Duke condemns.

I will now bring forward one or two additional reasons in support of my view. There is a considerable body of evidence tending to show that the offspring produced by crossing different varieties tends to revert to the type from which these varieties are descended. Thus Tegetmeier states that 'a cross 'between two non-sitting varieties (of the common fowl) almost 'invariably produces a mongrel that becomes broody, and sits 'with remarkable steadiness.' Mr. Darwin gives several cases in which such hybrids or mongrels are singularly wild and untamable, the mule being a familiar instance. Messrs. Boitard

and Corbié state that, when they crossed certain breeds of pigeons, they invariably got some young ones coloured like the wild *C. livia*. Mr. Darwin repeated these experiments, and found the statement fully confirmed.

So, again, the same is the case with fowls. The original of the domestic fowl was of a reddish colour, but thousands of the Black Spanish and the white silk fowls might be bred without a single red feather appearing; yet Mr. Darwin found that on crossing them he immediately obtained specimens with red feathers. Similar results have been obtained with ducks, rabbits, and cattle. Mules also have not unfrequently barred legs. It is unnecessary to give these cases in detail, because Mr. Darwin's work on 'Animals and Plants under Domestica-'tion' is in the hands of every naturalist.

Applying the same test to man, Mr. Darwin observes that crossed races of men are singularly savage and degraded. 'Many years ago,' he says, 'I was struck by the fact that in 'South America men of complicated descent between Negroes, 'Indians, and Spaniards, seldom had, whatever the cause might 'be, a good expression. Livingstone remarks that "it is un-'"accountable why half-castes are so much more cruel than the '"Portuguese, but such is undoubtedly the case." A native 'remarked to Livingstone—"God made white men, and God '"black men, but the devil made half-castes!" When two 'races, both low in the scale, are crossed, the progeny seems to 'be eminently bad. Thus the noble-hearted Humboldt, who 'felt none of that prejudice against the inferior races now so 'current in England, speaks in strong terms of the bad and 'savage disposition of Zambas, or half-castes between Indians 'and Negroes, and this conclusion has been arrived at by 'various observers. From these facts we may perhaps infer 'that the degraded state of so many half-castes is in part due 'to a reversion to a primitive and savage condition, induced by 'the act of crossing, as well as to the unfavourable moral con-'ditions under which they generally exist.'

I confess, however, that I am not sure how far this may not be accounted for by the unfortunate circumstances in which half-breeds are generally placed. The half-breeds between the Hudson's Bay Company's servants and the native women,

being well treated and looked after, appear to be a creditable and well-behaved set.[1]

I would also call particular attention to the remarkable similarity between the mental characteristics of savages and those of children. 'The Abipones,' says Dobritzhoffer,[2] 'when 'they are unable to comprehend anything at first sight, soon 'grow weary of examining it, and cry "orqueenàm?" what 'is it after all? Sometimes the Guaranies, when completely 'puzzled, knit their brows, and cry "tupâ oiquaà," God knows 'what it is. Since they possess such small reasoning powers 'and have so little inclination to exert them, it is no wonder 'that they are neither able nor willing to argue one thing from 'another.'

Richardson says of the Dogrib Indians, 'that however high 'the reward they expected to receive on reaching their desti- 'nation, they could not be depended on to carry letters. A 'slight difficulty, the prospect of a banquet on venison, or a 'sudden impulse to visit some friend, were sufficient to turn 'them aside for an indefinite length of time.'[3] Le Vaillant[4] also observes of the Namaquas, that they closely resembled children in their great curiosity.

M. Bourien,[5] speaking of the wild tribes in the Malayan Peninsula, says that an 'inconstant humour, fickle and erratic, 'together with a mixture of fear, timidity, and diffidence, lies 'at the bottom of their character; they seem always to think 'that they would be better in any other place than in the one 'they occupy at the time. Like children, their actions seem 'to be rarely guided by reflection, and they almost always act 'impulsively.' The tears of the South Sea Islanders, 'like 'those of children, were always ready to express any passion 'that was strongly excited, and, like those of children, they 'also appear to be forgotten as soon as shed.'[6]

The Kutchin Indians of North-West America, according to Morgan, 'give vent to injured feelings, as well as physical pain,

[1] Dunn's Oregon Territory, p. 147.

[2] History of the Abipones, vol. ii. p. 59.

[3] Arctic Expedition, vol. ii. p. 23.

[4] Travels in Africa, 1776, vol. iii. p. 12.

[5] Trans. Ethn. Soc., N.S., vol. iii. p. 78.

[6] Cook's First Voyage, p. 103.

'by crying, a practice shared equally by the males and females, 'and by the old as well as the young.'

At Tahiti, Captain Cook mentions that Oberea, the Queen and Tootahah, one of the principal chiefs, amused themselves with two large dolls. D'Urville tells us that a New Zealand chief, Tauvarya by name, 'cried like a child because the sailors 'spoilt his favourite cloak by powdering it with flour.'[1] Williams[2] mentions that in Fiji not only the women, but even the men, give vent to their feelings by crying. Burton even says that among East Africans the men cried more frequently than the women.[3]

The Negro kings of Western Africa, 'from Gelele to Rumanika 'of Karaqwah, are delighted with children's toys, gutta-percha 'faces, Noah's arks; in fact, what would be most acceptable to a 'child of eight—which the Negro is.'[4]

Not only do savages closely resemble children in their general character, but a curious similarity exists between them in many small points. For instance, the tendency to reduplication, which is so characteristic of children, prevails remarkably also among savages. The first 1,000 words in Richardson's dictionary (down to allege), contain only three, namely, adscititious, adventitious, agitator, and even in these it is reduced to a minimum. There is not a single word like *ahi ahi*, evening; *ake ake*, eternal; *aki aki*, a bird; *aniwaniwa*, the rainbow; *anga anga*, agreement; *angi angi*, abroad; *aro aro*, in front; *aru aru*, to woo; *ati ati*, to drive out; *awa awa*, a valley; or *awanga wanga*, hope, words of a class which abound in savage languages.

The first 1,000 words in a French dictionary I found to contain only two reduplications, namely, *anana* and *assassin*, both of which are derived from a lower race, and cannot, strictly speaking, be regarded as French.

Again 1,000 German words, taking for variety the letters C and D, contain six cases, namely, *cacadu* (cockatoo), *cacao*, *cocon* (cocoon), *cocosbaum*, a cocoa-nut tree, *cocosnuss*, cocoa-nut, and *dagegen*, of which again all but the last are foreign.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 398. See also Yate's New Zealand, p. 101.

[2] Fiji and the Fijians, vol. ii. p. 121.

[3] Lake Regions, p. 332.

[4] Burton's Dahome, vol. i. p. 326.

Lastly, the first 1,000 Greek words contained only two reduplications, one of which is *ἀβάρβαρος*.

For comparison with the above I have examined the vocabularies of the following eighteen tribes, and the results are given in the following table:—

Languages	Number of words examined	Number of reduplications	Proportion per million	
Europe—				
English	1,000	3	3	
French	1,000	2	2	Both foreign.
German	1,000	6	6	All but one foreign.
Greek	1,000	2	2	One being *ἀβάρβαρος*.
Africa—				
Beetjuan	188	7	37	Lichtenstein.
Bosjesman	129	5	38	,,
Namaqua Hottentot	1,000	75	75	H. Tindall.
Mpongwe	1,264	70	60	Snowden and Prall.
Fulup	204	28	137	Koelle.
Mbofon	267	27	100	,,
America—				
Makah	1,011	80	79	Smithsonian Contributions, 1869.
Darien Indians	184	13	70	Trans. Eth. Soc. vol. vi.
Ojibwa	283	21	74	Schoolcraft.
Tupy Brazil	1,000	66	66	Gonsalvez Dias.
Negroid—				
Brumer Island	214	37	170	Macgillivray.
Redscar Bay	125	10	80	,,
Louisiade	138	22	160	,,
Erroob	513	23	45	Jukes.
Lewis Murray Island	506	19	38	,,
Australia				
Kowrarega	720	26	36	Macgillivray.
Polynesia—				
Tonga	1,000	166	166	Mariner.
New Zealand	1,300	220	169	Dieffenbach.

For African languages I have examined the Beetjuan and Bosjesman dialects, given by Lichtenstein in his 'Travels in 'Southern Africa;' the Namaqua Hottentot, as given by Tindall in his 'Grammar and Vocabulary of the Namaqua 'Hottentot;' the Mpongwe of the Gaboon, from the Grammar of the Mpongwe language published by Snowden and Prall of New York; and lastly the Fulup and Mbofon languages, from Koelle's 'Polyglotta Africana.' For America, the Makah dialect, given by Mr. Swan in the Smithsonian Contributions for 1869; the Ojibwa vocabulary, given in Schoolcraft's

'Indian tribes;' the Darien vocabulary, from the 6th vol. N. S. of the Ethnological Society's Transactions; and the Tupy vocabulary, given in A. Gonsalvez Dias' 'Diccionario 'da Lingua Tupy, chamada lingua geral dos indigenas do Brazil.' To these I have added the languages spoken on Brumer Island, at Redscar Bay, Kowrarega, and at the Louisiade, as collected by Macgillivray in the 'Voyage of the Rattlesnake;' and the dialects of Erroob and Lewis Murray Island from Jukes' 'Voyage of the Fly.' Lastly, for Polynesia, the Tongan dictionary, given by Mariner, and that of New Zealand by Dieffenbach.

The result is, that while in the four European languages we get about two reduplications in 1,000 words, in the savage ones the number varies from thirty-eight to 170, being from twenty to eighty times as many in proportion.

In the Polynesian and Fiji Islands they are particularly numerous; thus, in Fiji, such names as Somosomo, Rakiraki, Raviravi, Lumaluma are common. Perhaps the most familiar New Zealand words are *meremere*, *patoo patoo*, and *kiri kiri*. So generally, however, is reduplication a characteristic of savage tongues, that it even gave rise to the term 'barbarous.'

In some cases grammatical relations are indicated by reduplication; for instance, in old Aryan the perfect; in others, as in Bushman, the plural; sometimes, as in Mandingo, the superlative.[1]

The love of pets is very strongly developed among savages. Many instances have been given by Mr. Galton in his Memoir on the 'Domestication of Animals.'[2]

Among minor indications may be mentioned the use of the rattle. Originally a sacred and mysterious instrument, as it is still among some of the Siberian, Redskin, and Brazilian[3] tribes, it has with us degenerated into a child's toy. Thus Dobritzhoffer tells us, the Abipones at a certain season of the year worshipped the Pleiades. The ceremony consisted in a feast accompanied with dancing and music, alternating with

[1] Bopp. Doppelung als eines der wichtigsten Bildungsmittel der Sprache.

[2] Trans. Ethn. Soc. vol. iii. p. 122.

[3] Martius, Von dem Rechtszustande unter den Ur-Braziliens, p. 43.

praises of the stars, during which the principal priestess, 'who 'conducts the festive ceremonies, dances at intervals, rattling 'a gourd full of hardish fruit-seeds to musical time, and 'whirling round to the right with one foot, and to the left with 'another, without ever removing from one spot, or in the 'least varying her motions.'[1] Spix and Martius[2] thus describe a Cooado chief: In the middle of the assembly, and nearest to the pot, stood 'the chief, who, by his strength, cunning, and 'courage, had obtained some command over them, and had re- 'ceived from Marlier the title of Captain. In his right hand 'he held the maracâ, the above-mentioned castanet, which 'they call gringerina, and rattled with it, beating time with 'his right foot.' 'The Congo Negroes had a great wooden 'rattle, upon which they took their oaths.'[3] The rattle also is very important among the Indians of North America.[4] When any person is sick, the sorcerer or medicine-man brings his sacred rattle and shakes it over him. This, says Prescott, 'is 'the principal catholicon for all diseases.' Catlin[5] also describes the 'rattle' as being of great importance. Some tribes have a sacred drum closely resembling that of the Lapps.[6] When an Indian is ill, the magician, says Carver,[7] 'sits by the patient day 'and night, rattling in his ears a gourd-shell filled with dried 'beans, called a chichiconé.'

Klemm[8] also remarks on the great significance attached to the rattle throughout America, and Staad even thought that it was worshipped as a divinity.[9]

Schoolcraft[10] also gives a figure of Oshkabaiwis, a Redskin medical chief, 'holding in his hand the magic rattle,' which is, indeed, the usual emblem of authority in the American pictographs. I know no case of a savage infant using the rattle as a plaything.

Tossing halfpence, as dice, again, which used to be a sacred

[1] Dobritzhoffer, vol. ii. p. 65. See also p. 72.

[2] Travels in Brazil. London, 1824, vol. ii. p. 234.

[3] Astley's Coll. of Voyages, vol. iii. p. 233.

[4] Prescott in Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, vol. ii. pp. 179, 180.

[5] American Indians, vol. i. pp. 37, 40, 163, &c.

[6] Catlin, *loc. cit.* p. 40.

[7] Travels, p. 385.

[8] Culturgeschichte, vol. ii. p. 172.

[9] Mœurs des Sauvages américains, vol. ii. p. 297.

[10] Indian Tribes, Pt. III. pp. 490, 492.

and solemn mode of consulting the oracles, is now a mere game for children.

So again the doll is a hybrid between the baby and the fetich, and, exhibiting the contradictory characters of its parents, becomes singularly unintelligible to grown-up people. Mr. Tylor has pointed out other illustrations of this argument, and I would refer those who feel interested in this part of the subject to his excellent work.

Dancing is another case in point. With us it is mere amusement. Among savages it is an important, and, in some cases, religious, ceremony. 'If,' says Robertson,[1] 'any inter-'course be necessary between two American tribes, the ambas-'sadors of the one approach in a solemn dance, and present the 'calumet or emblem of peace; the sachems of the other receive 'it with the same ceremony. If war is denounced against an 'enemy, it is by a dance, expressive of the resentment which 'they feel, and of the vengeance which they meditate. If the 'wrath of their gods is to be appeased, or their beneficence to 'be celebrated, if they rejoice at a birth of a child, or mourn 'the death of a friend, they have dances appropriated to each 'of these situations, and suited to the different sentiments with 'which they are then animated. If a person is indisposed, a 'dance is prescribed as the most effectual means of restoring 'him to health; and if he himself cannot endure the fatigue of 'such an exercise, the physician or conjuror performs it in his 'name, as if the virtue of his activity could be transferred to his 'patient.'

But it is unnecessary to multiply illustrations. Every one who has read much on the subject will admit the truth of the statement. It explains the capricious treatment which so many white men have received from savage potentates; how they have been alternately petted and ill-treated, at one time loaded with the best of everything, at another neglected or put to death.

The close resemblance existing in ideas, language, habits, and character between savages and children, though generally admitted, has usually been disposed of in a passing sentence and regarded rather as a curious accident than as an important

[1] Robertson's America, bk. iv. p. 133.

truth. Yet from several points of view it possesses a high interest. Better understood, it might have saved us many national misfortunes, from the loss of Captain Cook down to the Abyssinian war. It has also a direct bearing on the present discussion.

The opinion is rapidly gaining ground among naturalists, that the development of the individual is an epitome of that of the species, a conclusion which, if fully borne out, will, evidently, prove most instructive. Already many facts are on record which render it, to say the least, highly probable. Birds of the same genus, or of closely allied genera, which, when mature, differ much in colour, are often very similar when young. The young of the Lion and the Puma are often striped, and fœtal whales have teeth. Leidy has shown that the milk-teeth of the genus *Equus* resemble the permanent teeth of *Anchitherium*, while the milk-teeth of *Anchitherium* again approximate to the dental system of *Merychippus*.[1] Rütimeyer, while calling attention to this interesting observation, adds that the milk teeth of *Equus caballus* in the same way, and still more those of *E. fossilis*, resemble the permanent teeth of *Hipparion*.[2]

Agassiz, according to Darwin, regards it as a 'law of nature,' that the young states of each species and group resemble older forms of the same group: and Darwin himself says,[3] that 'in 'two or more groups of animals, however much they may at 'first differ from each other in structure and habits, if they 'pass through closely similar embryonic stages, we may feel 'almost assured that they have descended from the same parent 'form and are therefore closely related.' So also Mr. Herbert Spencer says,[4] 'Each organism exhibits within a short space of 'time a series of changes which, when supposed to occupy a period 'indefinitely great, and to go on in various ways instead of one 'way, give us a tolerably clear conception of organic evolution in 'general.'

It may be said that this argument involves the acceptance

[1] Proc. Acad. Nat. Soc. Philadelphia, 1858, p. 26.

[2] Beiträge zur Kenntniss der fossilen Pferde. Basle, 1863.

[3] Origin of Species, 4th edition, p. 532.

[4] Principles of Biology, vol. i. p. 349.

of the Darwinian hypothesis; this would, however, be a mistake; the objection might indeed be tenable if men belonged to different species, but it cannot fairly be urged by those who regard all mankind as descended from common ancestors; and, in fact, it is strongly held by Agassiz, one of Mr. Darwin's most uncompromising opponents. Regarded from this point of view, the similarity existing between savages and children assumes a singular importance and becomes almost conclusive as regards the question now at issue.

The Duke ends his work with the expression of a belief that man, 'even in his most civilised condition, is capable of 'degradation, that his knowledge may decay, and that his 'religion may be lost.' That this is true of individuals, I do not of course deny; that it holds good with the human race, I cannot believe.[1] Far more true, as it seems to me, are the concluding passages of Lord Dunraven's opening address to the Cambrian Archæological Association, 'that if we 'look back through the entire period of the past history of 'man, as exhibited in the result of archæological investigation, 'we can scarcely fail to perceive that the whole exhibits one 'grand scheme of progression, which, notwithstanding partial 'periods of decline, has for its end the ever-increasing civilisa-'tion of man, and the gradual development of his higher facul-'ties, and for its object the continual manifestation of the design, 'the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of Almighty God.'

I confess, therefore, that, after giving the arguments of the Duke of Argyll my most attentive and candid consideration, I see no reason to adopt his melancholy conclusion, but I remain persuaded that the past history of man has, on the whole, been one of progress, and that, in looking forward to the future, we are justified in doing so with confidence and with hope.

[1] The Duke appears to consider that the first men, though deficient in knowledge of the mechanical arts, were morally and intellectually superior, or at least equal, to those of the present day; and it is remarkable that, supporting such a view, he should regard himself as a champion of orthodoxy. Adam is, on the contrary, represented to us in Genesis not only as naked, and subsequently clothed with leaves, but as unable to resist the most trivial temptation, and as entertaining very gross and anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity. In fact, in all three characteristics—in his mode of life, in his moral condition, and in his intellectual conceptions—Adam was a typical savage.

NOTES.

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Position of Women in Australia.[1]

'Fœminæ sese per totam pene vitam prostituunt. Apud 'plurimas tribus juventutem utriusque sexus sine discrimine 'concumbere in usus est. Si juvenis forte indigenorum cœtum 'quendam in castris manentem adveniat, ubi quævis sit puella 'innupta, mos est, nocte veniente et cubantibus omnibus, 'illam ex loco exsurgere et juvenem accidentem cum illo per 'noctem manere, unde in sedem propriam ante diem redit. Cui 'fœmina sit, eam amicis libenter præbet; si in itinere sit, uxori 'in castris manenti aliquis supplet illi vires. Advenis ex 'longinquo accidentibus fœminas ad tempus dare hospitis esse 'boni judicatur. Viduis et fœminis jam senescentibus sæpe in 'id traditis, quandoque etiam invitis et insciis cognatis, adole-'scentes utuntur. Puellæ teneræ a decimo primum anno, et 'pueri a decimo tertio vel quarto, inter se miscentur. Seniori-'bus mos est, si forte gentium plurium castra appropinquant, 'viros noctu hinc inde transeuntes, uxoribus alienis uti et in 'sua castra ex utraque parte mane redire.

'Temporibus quinetiam certis, machina quædam ex ligno 'ad formam ovi facta, sacra et mystica, nam fœminas aspicere 'haud licitum, decem plus minus uncias longa et circa quatuor 'lata, insculpta ac figuris diversis ornata, et ultimam perforata 'partem ad longam (plerumque e crinibus humanis textam) 'inserendam chordam cui nomen "Moo yumkarr," extra castra 'in gyrum versata, stridore magno e percusso ære facto, liber-'tatem coeundi juventuti esse tum concessam omnibus indicat. 'Parentes sæpe infantum, viri uxorum, quæstum corporum 'faciunt. In urbe Adelaide panis præmio parvi aut paucorum

[1] Eyre's Discoveries, &c., vol. ii. p. 320.

'denariorum meretrices fieri eas libenter cogunt. Facile potest 'intelligi, amorem inter nuptos vix posse esse grandem, quum 'omnia quæ ad fœminas attinent, hominum arbitrio ordinentur 'et tanta sexuum societati laxitas, et adolescentes quibus ita 'multæ ardoris explendi dantur occasiones, haud magnopere 'uxores, nisi ut servos, desideraturos.'

Page 96.

Adoption.

'Adjiciendum et hoc, quod post evectionem ad Deos, Juno, 'Jovis suasu, filium sibi Herculem adoptavit, et omne deinceps 'tempus materna ipsum benevolentia complexa fuerit. Illam 'adoptionem hoc modo factam perhibent: Juno lectum in-'gressa, Herculem corpori suo admotum, ut verum imitaretur 'partum, subter vestes ad terram demisit. Quem in hoc 'usque tempus adoptionis ritum barbari observant.'[1]

Page 124.

The Character of Helen.

The character and position of Helen have not, I think, been as yet correctly appreciated. Mr. Gladstone truly observes[2] that 'No one forming his estimate of Helen from Homer only 'could fall into the gross error of looking upon her as a type 'of depraved character;' but even he has, I think, hardly done justice. He continues as follows:—

'Her fall once incurred, she finds herself bound by the 'iron chain of circumstance, from which she can obtain no 'extrication. But to the world, beneath whose standard of 'morality she has sunk, she makes at least this reparation, that 'the sharp condemnation of herself is ever in her mouth, and 'that she does not seek to throw off the burden of her shame 'on her more guilty partner. Nay, more than this, her self-'debasing and self-renouncing humility come nearer, perhaps, 'than any other heathen example to the type of Christian 'penitence.'

Other writers have felt the same difficulty. Maclaurin, for

[1] Diodorus, iv. 39.

[2] Juventus Mundi, p. 507.

instance, says: [1] 'What is most astonishing of all is, that they '(the Trojans) did not restore her upon the death of Paris, but 'married her to his brother Deiphobus. Here Chrysostom 'argues, and with great plausibility, that this is perfectly in-'credible, upon the supposition that Paris had possessed himself 'of her by a crime.'

We must, however, judge Helen by the customs of the time; and it has been clearly shown that among the lower races of man marriage by capture was a recognised custom. Hers seems to me a case of this kind. It will be observed that she is always spoken of as Paris' wife. Thus speaking of Paris she says:—

> Would that a better man had called me wife; [2]

and again:—

> Godlike Paris claims me as his wife.[3]

Paris himself speaks of her as his wife:—

> Yet hath my wife, e'en now, with soothing words
> Urged me to join the battle.[4]

So also Hector, though he regarded Paris with great contempt, and reproached him in strong language, addresses him as married:—

> Thou wretched Paris, though in form so fair,
> Thou slave of woman, manhood's counterfeit!
> Would thou had'st ne'er been born, or died at least
> Unwedded! [5]

and speaks to Helen with kindness and affection; as, for instance, in the Sixth Book he says:—

> Though kind thy wish, yet, Helen, ask me not
> To sit or rest; I cannot yield to thee,
> For burns e en now my soul to aid our friends,
> Who feel my loss, and sorely need my arm.
> But thou thy husband rouse, and let him speed,
> That he may find me still within the walls.[6]

The aged Priam, even when grieving over the fatal war is careful to assure Helen that he does not complain of her:—

> Not thee I blame,
> But to the Gods I owe this woful war.[7]

[1] Dissertation to prove that Troy was not taken by the Greeks. By John Maclaurin, Esq.

[2] VI. 402. Lord Derby's Trans.

[3] L. c. XXIV. 892.

[4] VI. 394.

[5] III. 43.

[6] VI. 419.

[7] L. c. III. 195.

These were no exceptional cases. On the contrary, in her touching lament over Hector's corpse, Helen says :—

> Hector, of all my brethren dearest thou !
> True, Godlike Paris claims me as his wife,
> Who bore me hither—would I then had died !
> But twenty years have passed since here I came,
> And left my native land ; yet ne'er from thee
> I heard one scornful, one degrading word ;
> And when from others I have borne reproach,
> Thy brothers, sisters, or thy brothers' wives,
> Or mother (for thy sire was ever kind
> E'en as a father), thou hast check'd them still
> With tender feeling, and with gentle words.
> For thee I weep, and for myself no less ;
> For, through the breadth of Troy, none love me now,
> None kindly look on me, but all abhor.
> Weeping she spoke, and with her wept the crowd.

Even in that hour of sorrow, the people pitied, but did not upbraid her. It is true that she reproaches herself; not, however, apparently for her marriage with Paris, but on account of the misfortunes which she had been the means of bringing on Troy.

It is a curious indication of the feeling of the times that, as Diogenes Laertius, in his life of Thales, tells us, the cup made by Vulcan as a wedding present for Pelops, having been taken by Paris 'when he carried off Helen, was thrown into the sea near Cos by her, as she said that it would become a cause of battle.'

I dwell on these considerations, because unless we realise the fact that marriage by capture was a recognised form of matrimony, involving, according to the ideas of the time, no disgrace, at any rate to the woman, it seems to me that we cannot understand the character of Helen, or properly appreciate the 'Iliad' itself. If Helen was a faithless wife, an abandoned and guilty wretch, the terms in which she is described by Homer would be, to say the least, misplaced: he would have condoned vice when clad in the garb of beauty.

Yet his treatment of Venus shows how little likely he was so to err, and we must, I think, on the whole, conclude that Helen, having been carried off forcibly, was, according to the ideas of the time, legally married to Paris, and was guilty of no crime.

Page 132.

Expiation for Marriage.

St. Augustine says:—

'Sed quid hoc dicam, cum ibi sit et Priapus nimius 'masculus, super cujus immanissimum et turpissimum fascinum 'sedere nova nupta jubeatur, more honestissimo et religiosissimo 'matronarum?'[1]

In his description of Babylonian customs, Herodotus says:[2]

Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἴσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἱζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζόῃ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσαι, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασαι, πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἑστᾶσι· θεραπηΐη δέ σφι ὄπισθεν ἕπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ποιεῦσι ὧδε· ἐν τεμένεϊ Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται, στέφανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος, πολλαὶ γυναῖκες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἵζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἤ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα, μιχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε· Ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα. Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι· τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθός ἐστι ὅσον ὦν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσηται· οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις ἐστί· γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον· τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἕπεται, οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾷ οὐδένα· ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῇ ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τὠπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τι οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψεαι. ὅσαι μέν νυν εἴδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται· ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσί, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

Mela[3] tells us that among the Auziles, another Æthiopian

[1] Civit. Dei, vi. 9. [2] Clio, i. 199. [3] Mela, i. 8.

tribe, 'Feminis solemne est, nocte, qua nubunt, omnium 'stupro patere, qui cum munere advenerint : et tum, cum 'plurimis concubuisse, maximum decus; in reliquum pudicitia 'insignis est.'

Speaking of the Nasamonian, Herodotus observes :—

πρῶτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμῶνος ἀνδρός, νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστός οἱ μιχθῇ, διδοῖ δῶρον, τὸ ἂν ἔχῃ φερόμενος ἐξ οἴκου.[1]

In many cases the exclusive possession of a wife could only be legally acquired by a temporary recognition of the pre-existing communal rights. The account given by Herodotus[2] of the custom existing in Babylonia has been already quoted. According to Strabo, there was a very similar law in Armenia.[3] In some parts of Cyprus also, among the Nasamones,[4] and other Æthiopian tribes, he tells us that the same custom existed; and Dulaure asserts that it occurred also at Carthage, and in several parts of Greece, as also, according to Hamilton,[5] in Hindostan. The account which Herodotus gives of the Lydians, though not so clear, seems to indicate a similar law.

The customs of the Thracians, as described by Herodotus,[6] point to a similar feeling. Among races somewhat more advanced, the symbol supersedes the reality of this custom, and St. Augustine found it necessary to protest against that which prevailed, even in his time, in Italy.[7]

Diodorus Siculus mentions that in the Balearic Islands, Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica, the bride was for one night considered as the common property of all the guests present; after which she belonged exclusively to her husband.[8] Garcilasso de la Vega records the existence of a similar custom among the Mantas, a Peruvian tribe;[9] as also does Langsdorf,[10] in Nukahiva;

[1] Melpomene, iv. 172.
[2] Clio, 199. [3] Strabo, lib. ii.
[4] Melpomene, 172.
[5] Account of the East Indies. Pinkerton's Voyages, vol. viii. p. 374.
[6] Terpsichore, v. 6.
[7] Dulaure, *loc. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 160. See App.
[8] Diodorus, v. 18.
[9] Royal Commentaries of the Incas, vol. ii. p. 442.
[10] Wuttke's Die ersten Stufen der Geschichte der Menschheit, vol. i. p. 177.

and we find a similar idea in part of Madagascar and in the Philippines.

In India,[1] and particularly in the valleys of the Ganges, virgins were compelled before marriage to present themselves in the temples dedicated to Juggernaut, and the same is said to have been customary in Pondicherry and at Goa.[2] To the same feeling we may perhaps ascribe the custom which in so many cases gave the *jus primæ noctis* to the chief or the medicine man.

Among the Sonthals, one of the aboriginal Indian tribes, the marriages take place once a year, mostly in January. For six days all the candidates for matrimony live together; after which only are the separate couples regarded as having established their right to marry.[3] Mr. Fison tells us that among the Kurnais marriage by capture is the only recognised form. 'But a man,' he says, 'must give notice to his "pares" (I do 'not know how otherwise to distinguish them), and they must 'meet the woman in the bush, and use her as their wife before 'she can elope with him.'[4]

Carver mentions[5] that while among the Naudowessies he observed that they paid uncommon respect to one of their women, and found that she was considered to be a person of high distinction, because on one occasion she invited forty of the principal warriors to her tent, provided them with a feast, and treated them in every respect as husbands. On enquiry he was informed that this was an old custom, but had fallen into abeyance, and 'scarcely once in an age any of the females are 'hardy enough to make this feast, notwithstanding a husband of 'the first rank awaits as a sure reward the successful giver of it.'

Speaking of the Greenland Esquimaux, Egede expressly states that those are reputed the best and noblest tempered 'who, with-'out any pain or reluctancy, will lend their friends their wives.'[6]

We know that in Athens courtesans were highly respected. 'The daily conversation they listened to,' says Lord Kames,[7] 'on

[1] Histoire abrégée des Cultes, vol. i. p. 431.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 108.

[3] The People of India, by J. F. Watson and J. W. Kaye, vol. i. p. 2.

[4] Fison. Jour. Anthr. Inst., 1880, p. 356.

[5] Travels in North America, p. 245. See also Notes.

[6] History of Greenland, p. 142.

[7] History of Man, vol. ii. p. 50.

'philosophy, politics, poetry, enlightened their understanding 'and improved their taste. Their houses became agreeable 'schools, where everyone might be instructed in his own art. 'Socrates and Pericles met frequently at the house of Aspasia, 'for from her they acquired delicacy of taste, and, in return, 'procured to her public respect and reputation. Greece at that 'time was governed by orators, over whom some celebrated 'courtesans had great influence, and by that means entered 'deep into the government.'

So also it was an essential of the model Platonic Republic 'that among the guardians, at least, the sexual arrangements 'should be under public regulation, and the monopoly of one 'woman by one man forbidden.' [1]

In Java we are told that courtesans are by no means despised, and in some parts of Western Africa the negroes are stated to look on them with respect; while, on the other hand, oddly enough, they have a strong feeling against musicians, who are looked on as 'infamous, but necessary tools for their pleasure.' They did not even permit them to be buried, lest they should pollute the earth.[2] In India, again, various occupations which we regard as useful [3] and innocent, if humble, are considered to be degrading in the highest degree. On the other hand, in the famous Indian city of Vesali, 'marriage was forbidden, and high 'rank attached to the lady who held office as Chief of the Courte-'sans.' When the Holy Buddha (Sakyamuni), in his old age, visited Vesali, 'he was lodged in a garden belonging to the Chief 'of the Courtesans, and received a visit from this grand lady, 'who drove out to see him, attended by her suite in stately car-'riages. Having approached and bowed down, she took her seat 'on one side of him and listened to a discourse on Dharma. . . . 'On entering the town she met the rulers of Vesali, gorgeously 'apparelled; but their equipages made way for her. They asked 'her to resign to them the honour of entertaining Sakyamuni; 'but she refused, and the great man himself, when solicited by the rulers in person, also refused to break his engagement with the lady.' [4]

[1] Bain's Mental and Moral Science.
[2] Waitz' Anthropology, p. 317.
[3] Astley, vol. ii. p. 279.
[4] Mrs. Spier's Life in Ancient India, p. 281.

Until recently the courtesans were the only educated women in India.[1] Even now many of the great Hindoo temples have bands of women attached to them, and it seems at first sight a strange anomaly that, while a woman born of, or adopted into, one of these families is not held to pursue a shameless vocation, other women who have fallen from good repute are esteemed disgraceful.[2] There is, in reality, however, nothing anomalous in this. The former continue an old custom of the country, under solemn religious sanction; the latter, on the contrary, have given way to lawless inclinations, have outraged public feelings, and brought disgrace on their families. In ancient Egypt, again, it would appear that illegitimate children were, under certain circumstances, preferred over those born in wedlock.[3]

When the special wife was a stranger and a slave, while the communal wife was a relative and a free-woman, such feelings would naturally arise, and would, in some cases, long survive the social condition to which they owed their origin.

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The Multiplicity of Rules in Australia.

It seems at first sight remarkable that a race so low as the Australians should have such stringent laws and apparently complex rules. In fact, however, they are merely customs to which antiquity has gradually given the force of law; and it is obvious that when a race has long remained stationary we may naturally expect to find many customs thus crystallised, as it were, by age.

[1] Dubois' People of India, pp. 217, 402.

[2] The People of India, by J. F. Watson and J. W. Kaye, vol. iii. p. 165.

[3] Bachofen, Das Mutterrecht, p. 125.

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